1.0
2.8
2.5
3.2
2.2
3.6
4.0
2.0
1.1
1.8
1.25
1.4
1.6

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 146 675	EA 010 078

TITLE	Proceedings of the First World Congress of Comparative Education Societies on the Role and Rationale for Educational Aid to Developing Countries during International Educational Year (Ottawa, Canada, August, 1970).
INSTITUTION	World Council of Comparative Education Societies, Geneva (Switzerland).
PUB DATE	Aug 70
NOTE	136p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Mrs. Anne Hamori, Secretary General, World Council for Comparative Education, Palais Wilson, 52, rue des Paquis, 1211 Geneva 14, Switzerland ($3.00)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Comparative Education; *Conference Reports; *Developing Nations; *Educational Finance; Elementary Secondary Education; International Education; International Educational Exchange; *International Relations; Post Secondary Education; Teacher Education

ABSTRACT

This publication contains the text of 28 papers that were presented at the First World Congress of Comparative Education Societies, which was held in Ottawa, Canada in August 1970. The focus of the Congress and of the papers was on two main topics: the place of comparative and international education in the education of teachers, and the role and rationale for educational aid to developing countries. A brief introductory section discusses the purposes of the Congress, the major questions examined by the Congress, and future plans of the Congress. An appendix lists all the registrants for the Congress. (JG)

Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original.

ED146675

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
World Council of Comparative Education Societies
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

PROCEEDINGS

of the

FIRST WORLD CONGRESS OF COMPARATIVE EDUCATION SOCIETIES

on

THE ROLE AND RATIONALE FOR EDUCATIONAL AID TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

during

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION YEAR

OTTAWA, CANADA

August, 1970

EA 010 078

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDUCATIONAL AID.

		Page
The Purpose, Plan and Program for the World Congress of Comparative Education Societies	Joseph Katz	4
TITLE	AUTHOR	
Educational Aid for University Students in Developing Countries - A long Range Perspective toward Educational Aid	Tsuneo Ayabe, Japan	5
The Role and Rationale for Bilateral and Multilateral Education Aid Programme in Nigeria	Shehu U. Bakari, Lagos, Nigeria	8
Role and Rationale of Educational Aid in Developing Countries: An Impending Crisis of Confidence	Mahamood ul Hasan Butt, Indiana University	11
A Role for International Border Education and Agencies in the Developing Countries	Anoop Chandola, University of Arizona	16
The Role and Rationale for Educational Aid in Developing Countries: An Argentinian Perspective	Gustavo F.J. Cirigliano, Buenos Aires; Osvaldo Jorge Ruda, University of Ottawa	17
The Role and Rationale for Educational Aid in Developing Countries	W.D. Coombs, C.I.D.A., Ottawa	24
L'Aide éducative aux pays en voie de développement	Avigdor Farine, Universite de Montreal	27
The Role and Rationale for Educational Aid in Developing Countries - Economic and Social Factors	R.K.A. Gardiner, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa	30
The Role and Rationale for Aid in Developing Countries - Bilateral and Multilateral Programmes	J.E. Jayasuriya, University of Ceylon	38
The Role and Rationale for Educational Aid in Developing Countries with Particular Reference to East Africa	W. Senteza Kajubi, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda	41
Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. An Increasing Discrepancy?	Denis B.P. Kallen, CERI-OECD, Paris	46
The Role and Rationale for Educational Aid in Developing Countries: with Specific Reference to Technical and Professional Needs	Sun Ho Kim, Kyung Hee University, Seoul, Korea	54
Quantity and Quality in the Planning of Educational Aid Programmes in Developing Countries	Nathan Kravetz, UNESCO, Paris	57
Building a National Philosophy of Education as an Aid to Developing Countries	Cyrus Lee, Edinboro State College, Pa., U.S.A.	62
The Need for Innovation in Education	R.M. Miller, C.I.D.A., Ottawa	64
Bilateral and Multilateral Education - Exchange Programs -New Zealand's Role	W.J.D. Minogue, New Zealand	68
The Role and Rationale for Educational Aid in Developing Countries	Reginal Murray, University of the West Indies, Kingston, Jamaica	71

TITLE	AUTHOR	Page
The Role and Rationale of Educational Aid in Developing Countries - Bilateral and Multilateral Aid	A.C. Mwingira University of Dar-es-salaam Tanzania, Africa	75
Cross-National Aspects of Current I.E.A. Work	Harold J. Noah, Columbia University, New York, N.Y., U.S.A.	80
Les méthodes qui apparaissent les meilleiures et les mieux adaptées en general pour la formation des cadres éducatifs par l'intermédiate de l'education comparée dans des pays en voie de développement	Godefroy Mouaga Ododi, Cameroun	83
A Note on Investment Alternatives in Developing Countries: Human vs. Non-Human Capital Formation	Lennart Ohlsson, Stanford University	85
The Role and Rationale for Educational Aid in Developing Countries: Socio Economic Factors	O. Olakanpo, University of Lagos, Nigeria	89
The Role and Rationale for Educational Aid in Developing Countries: Socio-Economic Factors	Hyun Ki Paik, Seoul, Korea	101
Educational Problems in Developing Areas: With Zambia (Africa) and Appalachia (U.S.A.) as Examples	Franklin Parker, West Virginia University	104
Education, Rural Transformation and Development Aid in Middle Africa	Ernest Stabler, University of Western Ontario	113
The Role and Rationale for Educational Aid in El Salvador	Herbert G. Vaughan, San Salvador, El Salvador, C.A.	116
The Role and Rationale for Educational Aid to Developing Countries with Special Reference to Technical and Professional Needs	Yoo, Hyung Jin, Seoul, Korea	120
The Impact of Long-Term Educational Advisory Experts on the Development of New Nations	Mathew Zachariah, University of Calgary	124

THE
PURPOSE, PLAN AND PROGRAM
FOR THE
WORLD CONGRESS OF COMPARATIVE
EDUCATION SOCIETIES

- - - -

Ottawa, Canada, 1970

- - - -

Joseph Katz

Purposes

This first World Congress of Comparative Education Societies meets on the occasion of the first International Education Year. The occasion is significant in that for the first time the United Nations have formally declared an International Education Year and in so doing have recognized that education takes its place along with politics and economics in helping to shape a better world. In so doing, too, the United Nations have given the minds of men their rightful place in the scale of human values. They have, in effect, said that men, money and materials must be as readily available for books as for business and bombs, and for peace as for wares and wars. The sentence in the preamble to the United Nations Charter stating that "wars begin in the minds of men" is only partly true. Men enter war with their instincts and seek peace with their minds. The United Nations have in this Year come to recognize that education is the road to the hearts and minds of men and it is this recognition which provides us with our opportunity and our challenge.

This congress meets for several reasons. We meet to help achieve a world in which men, women and children everywhere can benefit from the best that civilization has to offer. We meet to further the aspirations of peoples throughout the world who have over the years been turning increasingly to education as a means to improve their own and their children's lives. We meet to find ways of education and means of aid which will help reduce the disgraceful disparities which attend the lives of the poor and the rich; the literate and the illiterate, the possessed and the dispossessed. We meet to help create social, economic, political and spiritual conditions which will enable peoples everywhere to share in the advances of science and technology and live with justice and humanity. We meet, in short, to help people everywhere through education to substitute the civilized minds of men for the uncivilized instincts of nature.

Problems

In particular, we meet to discuss three major questions: 1. The administrative and juridicial aspects of creating a Council and a continuing Congress; 2. The place of comparative and international education in the education of teachers; and 3. The role and rationale for educational aid to developing countries.

The first of these questions is a matter of exploring ways and means of continuing communication between and among the various societies. The Congress will be asked to consider a Council and a continuing Congress and make recommendations for consideration by the societies at their respective annual meetings.

The second and third questions are the questions of substance for this Congress. These two questions are of special significance in today's world, a world that is divided between the haves and the have-nots; between the developed and the developing; between the nationally and internationally inclined; between the industrial and the agricultural; and between those who suffer an annual average income of $50.00 and those who also enjoy $4500.00. For comparative educators interested in examining the similarities and differences in the educative process of various groups the examination of the educational relationships obtaining between the overdeveloped and the underdeveloped areas of the world constitute a very special challenge.

The two questions to be examined here are essentially complimentary. On the one hand the examination of the place of comparative and international education in the education of teachers will, hopefully, result in developed societies preparing teachers who will in their turn help prepare students to appreciate the basic human needs and values of peoples everywhere. On the other hand, the examination of the role and rationale for educational aid to developing countries will result in much more efficient and effective policies and practices which take into account cultural strengths and historical trends which characterize the ethos of developing societies. Hopefully, too, the results of our deliberations will be such as to help arrest the widening chasm between the different parts of our divided world and lay the basis for equalizing levels of living for all. In essence, this Congress of Comparative

Education Societies is dedicated to the proposition that the similarities in the human condition which obtain in both developed and developing societies can, if reasonably cultivated, reconcile the differences and make possible a more humane society for all.

In addition, and as a special feature, the Congress will have an opportunity to hear reports of the International Education Achievements Projects presently in progress. The reports of the Mathematics Achievements Projects clearly demonstrated what was possible on a world scale. These evaluative studies of student performance in the common branches of study provide us with an insight into our common intellectual heritage. These studies suggest, too, that given opportunity educational aspirations can be more than matched by educational achievements.

Plans

The Congress itself is evidence that people will work together to achieve not only common but uncommon goals as well. The members of the International Committee are grateful to the Canadian International Development Agency, the Canadian National Commission for UNESCO, UNESCO Paris, Kent State University, the University of British Columbia, the Governments of Quebec and Ontario, the Comparative Education Societies, and last, but certainly not least, the University of Ottawa and its Comparative Education Centre as well as the Congress Secretariat for the professional and financial assistance which make these meetings a reality.

The plans of the Congress include the publication of the proceedings and, in addition, two sets of guidelines, one set of guidelines indicating ways of placing comparative and international education studies in teacher education programmes and one set of guidelines on what appear to be reasonable rationals for educational aid to developing countries. Hopefully, these publications will help all who participate to balance hindsight with foresight; help those who wished to attend but could not to share in our deliberations, and help those engaged in teacher training and educational aid to reach their goals.

Joseph Katz, Ph.D.,
Professor of Comparative Education, University of British Columbia
and Chairman, International Committee, World Congress.
August, 1970.

EDUCATIONAL AID FOR UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

-- A LONG RANGE PERSPECTIVE TOWARD EDUCATIONAL AID --

Tsuneo Ayabe
Kyushu University, Japan

1. Introduction

Why do we assist the developing nations? Because they need aid to improve their standard of living and furthermore it is for the greater good of all mankind, not only for the developing nations that multilateral aid is called for.

It has long been realized that its most important element is talented manpower with the spirit of self-reliance. Without this psychological characteristic, financial and technological aid for developing countries cannot be properly utilized.

University students are potential sources of talented manpower and they will be the elite leaders of each country. This paper deals with the university students in developing countries and with some ideas of promoting manpower programs and improving of conditions related to them from the viewpoint of bilateral aid.

2. The situation of youth in developing countries

a. Elite and mass

In developing countries, the youth are the most important age group in improvement and innovation of their societies. Youth are always an active and vital element in all aspects of national development. Especially in those developing countries where relatively little higher education is available, university students are of necessity the source from which those who provide the most significant innovations in their countries must be secured.

b. The university student as an innovator

University students as an intellectual elite are excellent promoters of improvement programs in the developing countries, if they understand their own traditional culture in an appropriate way. In improvement programs, understanding of the ways of thought and traditions of people are most important. Problems often arise from inadequate or antagonistic relationships between the innovators and those people with whom they are working in a development program. University students as innovators should be aware of the gap between their views and a local person's way of looking at the same thing. Programs and ideals which do not take into account this discrepancy will not be successful. Educational aid for developing countries must include the study of history, religion, comparative education, sociology and anthropology etc. which can aid university students in developing an objective way of thinking toward their own traditional culture as well as assist them in providing economic and technological aid.

3. Student exchange programs

a. International understanding

Student exchange is usually considered a decisive factor in international understanding. But its influence can easily be taken too seriously. In student exchange programs between developed and less-developed countries, we should not attach too much importance to the fact that study abroad results in an uncritical appreciation and affection of the student for the host country. During their stay in the host country, students are influenced by various factors. School education is only one factor in the shaping of attitudes and behavior of foreign students toward the host societies. Various researches show that school education does little to influence student's basic values and outlook. Students cannot ignore the inadequacies of their host societies such as superiority complex, social discrimination, etc.

From the viewpoint discussed above, it would be better to expect, as the outcome of a students' study abroad, fluency in the language and increased knowledge of the host country, better understanding of the students' own country from a more objective perspective.

b. Study of negative aspects, as well as assets, of developed countries

An impression of inadequacies and humiliations are obtained by the individual student through his daily experiences in the host country. However, in order to give the student a correct knowledge of the host society, it would be important to instruct him systematically about negative aspects, as well as assets, of developed societies such as air and water pollution, food pollution by chemical fertilizer, etc., stemming from rapid development of industries. Various and serious problems such as population problems, traffic jams caused by the urbanization process should also be described for the foreign students. These may seem to be a not-so-urgent matter to the students from the developing countries where people sometimes suffer from hunger. But, developing countries seeking the knowledges and technologies produced by most developed countries are likely to face the same problems in a rather near future.

4. Problem of brain drain

a. Internal efforts

For developing countries which are trying to improve their socio-cultural and technological conditions, a brain drain may be one of the most resented processes in terms of their development. High-level professionals often experience difficulty in having their ideas accepted in their own countries, and must seek a more suitable intellectual climate elsewhere.

For developing countries which want to help themselves and are getting talented manpower through aid programs from outside, this international movement of more educated persons toward the developed countries should be lessened. This can be done through the efforts of improving the domestic conditions both financial and spiritual available to talented people. Ethics and occupational motivations for nation building should be ingrained from the level of primary education.

b. Bilateral development aid programs

Developed countries which have been helping other countries by sending high-level professionals will be able to cooperate with interested governments which are losing manpower and want to help themselves, in the development of institutions and to help generate the incentives to lessen the outward drift of talented manpower. Needless to say, freedom for intellectuals to move to anywhere at their will is essential. However, skilled personnel usually tend to stay in their own countries if minimum conditions favoring an intellectual climate are secured.

Assistance for the widening of the range of domestic conditions from the developed countries should be focussed on this point. This could be done without increasing the budget of the developed countries. For instance, if a developed country has so far been sending a good many intellectuals to a developing country, the number could be reduced to a few and the rest of the budget could be spent for the improvement of the conditions of the native intellectuals.

5. Problem of alienation

a. Identification with whom?

As has been mentioned in the second section, the elite and talented personnel of developing countries often (not necessarily) orient their value to the developed countries of the West. The characteristic lack of involvement with the life of the masses on the part of the elite serves to reinforce the ever-growing cultural gap that separates them from the mass of people. In most developing countries, a majority of the elite were born and reared in the capital of each country or in the larger urban centers. Students rarely go into community development work after graduation. As a result their knowledge of the rural areas of the country, where usually more than eighty per cent of the people live, is very limited.

If the elite is not concerned with cultural identification with the mass while the mass is striving for their own identity with Asians or Africans, alienation may result from this situation and this may lead to a politically unstable environment.

b. Importance of the study of traditional culture of developing countries

In developing countries, new education is usually not for the maintenance of the old, but for change. In order to improve their standard of living, teaching of science and technology have been mainly emphasized in new educational system. However, when we think about the identification with their own culture, developing countries should pay more attention to the systematic and scientific study of their own traditional culture in college curriculums in the field of humanities such as religion, ethics, history, society and traditional technology, etc., before they are extinguished in the wave of modernization. This is no way similar to the idea of advocating nationalism.

Identification with their own culture is important when people are going to contribute to general human culture from their own particularity as a member of the United Nations or to participate in the larger world-community. Educational aid for this direction may seem to be extremely indirect for development. But, in a long range perspective, encouragement and actual advice of the study of traditional culture will make the spirit which forms the core of the making of nations.

THE ROLE AND RATIONALE FOR BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL EDUCATIONAL AID PROGRAMME IN NIGERIA (December '65 - November '69)

Shehu U. Bakari
Lagos, Nigeria

In the face of the stupendous challenge of educational needs of Nigeria all available educational aid can but only hope to introduce a catalystic effect on all efforts. The tasks facing a large country like Nigeria are:

(1) how to provide adequate school for its vast school age population,
(2) how to improve the quality of the existing schools and,
(3) how to keep up the standard in the growing number of educational establishments.

Today, there are over 3,000,000 students in all institutions; over 200,000 of these are in secondary schools; 30,000 in teacher-training colleges and 12,000 in technical schools. At best only 46% of the primary population have any form of schooling. Considering only these in the institutions, we find that the schools are in themselves inefficient. They have very few trained teachers and are inadequately equipped. The quality of instruction is therefore very low. This is a problem of quality.

In the National Development Plan (1962/68), the target in education was to produce the high level manpower that was required to generate the economy of the country. Even on this limited objective, the country was not able to finance the development without external assistance. As a result, the Government instituted a body to co-ordinate the various assistance expected from foreign donors. This Paper will deal with the experience acquired between December 1965 and November 1969 while working at the Co-ordinating Secretariat namely the Bureau for External Aid for Education. It is significant also that this period covers the second half of the national development plan, and was also the war period. It is therefore hoped that these experiences would be of profound nature.

Education in Nigeria is essentially a state matter. It is only in the field of higher education that the Federal Ministry of Education has a greater say. Furthermore, almost all the higher institutions in the country are autonomous. To add to the confusion, there is the autonomous National Universities Commission which allocates grants to universities. There are therefore 13 Ministries of Education, some autonomous higher educational institutions and the National Universities Commission all interested in external assistance. Each has got its own programme and works almost entirely independent of the others. Each Government has also a Ministry of Planning which co-ordinates the various activities of that Government within the locality. In others, two Ministries are involved, the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Planning. At the Federal level, there is in addition the Federal Ministry of Economic Development. It co-ordinates not only the programmes of the Federal Ministries but also those of the various state Governments. Its activities are not limited to education, they include the entire economic spectrum of the nation. In such an atmosphere therefore, one would have thought that the Co-ordinating body for External Aid for Education would do more than it has been able to do. In the controlling body of the Bureau for External Aid for Education are represented the 13 Ministries of Education, the Federal Ministry of Economic Development, the Federal Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of External Affairs and the National Universities Commission. As a group, they cover all the constitutional responsibilities of education in the Federation.

With the war now over, there is a tendency of the evolution of tidier system in the educational field. Recently the National Council on Education - a body comprising of all the Commissioners (Ministers) of Education in the Federation was established. It is hoped that it will form the nucleus of a central directorate for education. The present Joint Consultative Committee for Education will be a committee of the Council. The Co-ordinating Committee for External Aid will also be another committee of the Council. If the National Universities Commission and the UNESCO National Commission can have a defined relationship with the Council, it will mean that all educational matters will have a really national stamp.

Coming now to the lessons learnt within the limitation of the Bureau, certain criteria emerged. They favour the establishment of multilateral programmes to those of bilateral nature. It must however be emphasized that the multilateral schemes require a much neater administrative arrangement than the bilateral system.

Supply of Teachers

During the period under consideration, a number of teacher supply schemes with foreign assistance were handled. These include the United Kingdom Teacher for Nigeria Scheme, the Canadian Technical Assistance Teachers, the Graduate Volunteer Service Overseas, the American

Peace Corps and the Canadian University Service Overseas. These schemes are all of bilateral pattern.

The Teacher for Nigeria Scheme was a scheme whereby British Teachers were employed under the same condition of service as Nigerian teachers. The British Government gives an allowance to the teachers to enhance their remuneration. The requests each year are received from the various institutions and these are sent to the British Government. The initiative comes from the employers whether they be Ministry of Education, Voluntary Agencies or Universities. Each case was considered in isolation.

Canadian Technical Teachers. This is a most generous scheme. The Canadian Government provides for all the remunerations of the teachers. The Nigerian Government or its agency provides only minimal accommodation and certain supporting services. The recruitment is done in a similar manner as that in the case of the United Kingdom Teacher for Nigeria scheme. The problems are therefore similar.

The Volunteers. The Volunteer services in teaching comprise essentially of young graduates who had just completed their university courses. The GVSO was the oldest in the field and it is still waxing strong. The American Peace Corps came in later and grew in numbers but has now almost phased out. The CUSO programme has been growing steadily in numbers and quality. All these schemes have a common ad-hoc characteristic. There was never a time when the national need had been collectively expressed and priority drawn up.

The first problem therefore is to strengthen the bureau so that it could consider all the teachers requests for external assistance emanating from the various school providers. If this could be done, a national need could then be spelt out and a comprehensive condition drawn up for each particular post. Multilateral programming could then emerge whereby the various donors could examine the expressed national needs and make their contribution in the fields in which they feel they would be most competent to do so, and at the same time leave other fields for other donors. In addition, this will allow the Nigerian Government to draw up a more uniform condition of service for the various grades of teachers that are needed in the institutions. The duplication and wastage arising from the present bilateral system would then be eliminated. It is, of course, essential to note that the supply of expatriate teachers can never meet the demand of the country. What can be done is only to increase the efficiency of the numbers made available. Multilateral programming ensures such efficiency.

Projects

In the field of projects, it is the bilateral programming that holds sway. Even the contribution of the United Nations and its various specialized agencies are provided on bilateral basis. It is however a more efficient system than that of other donors. The outstanding project in education is the World Bank loan of over 7 million pounds which is to help finance the 10 million pound educational project of the country. It consists of building of teacher training colleges, expansion and building of new secondary schools and technical institutions.

Another large contribution of aid is from UNICEF. The first allocation was for equipping primary schools in certain local education authorities with the lowest percentage enrolment of children of primary school age. The difficulties of disbursement which this scheme suffered was largely the result of the manner of its handling. It was handled in a bilateral pattern. With the creation of States and the emergence of numerous autonomous Ministries of Education, in place of a single Ministry, there was a temporary confusion which resulted in underutilisation of funds.

The recent modification and increased allocation have improved the situation. But all the same, this bilateral pattern is not the most efficient; a multilateral pattern would not only have avoided the past difficulty but would guarantee a successful completion of the revised programme.

The building schemes of the USAID suffers from the same difficulty. So does the various grants given by foreign Government to individual schools or even individual organizations. The assistance given by the Michigan State University to the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, falls in the same pattern. So were various grants given to universities to develop or establish certain departments. This was done without the knowledge of either the National Universities Commission, a body that could have been interested in such aid, or the Bureau for External Aid for Education.

The bilateral manner in which aids on projects have been handled so far have resulted in obvious wastage. A more comprehensive planning with clear expressed national targets would have paved the way for much greater achievement.

Scholarships

In the field of scholarships awarded by foreign countries, bilateral programming is the rule of the day. Here, however, there has grown a system that expresses actual national needs. For three years running, a collation was made of the expressed needs of the country. Applications from qualified students indicating their professed fields of study were received by the Bureau for External Aid for Education. These were referred back to the various Ministries of Education for short-listing. The short-listed candidates were then collated. Almost all donors make their offer to the Bureau for External Aid for Education. Whenever offers are received, the most suitable candidates are selected and presented. This, it can be seen, is an effort to turn the bilateral pattern to a multilateral one. It is yet to reach complete development. Even here however there are some scholarships that are outside the general pattern. Some Commonwealth Scholarships are handled in a bilateral manner. In such a situation it will be possible to define the national need in an easily recognizable pattern and these needs made known to all prospective donors. The actual needs could then be matched with the available student places, thus eliminating wastage by default. In this aspect the multilateral system far outweighs the bilateral system.

Conclusion

Multilateral programming is more effective than bilateral. It is essential however that there be an efficient machinery to serve the programming both at the centre and at the locality. If either of the two administrative centres is defective then a multilateral programming would be a complete failure. In Nigeria, it would be easy to establish an effective centre which will determine the national need. If all developing countries were to each have such national bodies, donors would easily recognize the most effective aid to give. Effectiveness of the programming would be further enhanced if a central international clearing house for all available aid is provided, ideally by the United Nations and/or its specialized agencies. The International clearing house will be in a position to help utilize all available donations, no matter how small. In such a situation even developing countries will find themselves able to contribute in certain fields. For example, Nigeria might be able to provide teachers to teach certain subjects in other countries. Today no such international servicing organ exists. Furthermore, the developed countries would, through this organ, make their maximum contribution. Since the primary aims of educational aid to developing countries is to make the best use of limited available resources in meeting the stupendous challenge to developing countries in attaining the position of economic "take off", a multilateral programming far outstrips bilateral programming. Multilateral programming, as opposed to bilateral, not only determines the priority need but also utilizes all available resources. It thus eliminates wastage both in donor and receiving countries.

ROLE AND RATIONALE OF EDUCATIONAL AID IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES:

AN IMPENDING CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE

Dr. Mahmood ul Hasan Butt
Visiting Professor
Indiana University

This paper is intended to start a dialogue among colleagues as to the role and rationale of educational aid in the developing countries. It is my feeling, coming from a country that has been recipient of such aid for almost two decades, that we have reached a point in such transnational undertakings where we can frankly though not too impartially discuss some of the things that either have been ignored till recently, or have been intentionally pulled under the rug. It is time that we discuss those aspects of such international and intercultural undertakings that have been whispered about -- both in the developed and in the developing countries. Let me assert at the very outset that the whole program of educational aid is facing an impending crisis of confidence.

To understand fully the import of this crisis of confidence a brief historic look at the extent and variety of such aid is called for. Developed nations of the world have variously tried to reach out to the undeveloped or the underdeveloped societies of the world. In the past few centuries such encounters have taken the form of colonization of the undeveloped by the developed. Freeman Butts, in talking about this burden of our heritage lists four kinds of emissaries who were the agents of such international encounters: the agent of churches or the missionary; the agent of the commercial and business enterprises was the proprietary; the agent of political goals of national states was the plenipotentiary; and the agent of armed forces of national states was the military.[1] Each one of these emissaries either singly or collectively tried to pursue policies dictated by their own self-enlightened interests. The net result was either direct subjugation of the peoples of the underdeveloped world or a more subtle kind of client-state relationship. In this relationship the underdeveloped countries were always at the receiving end of the line. The rationale for any kind of educational aid under these circumstances was to establish an intellectual breadline. Moreover, the purpose of establishing such a system of education, in the words of Lord Macaulay, a legal member of the Governor-General's Council in India in 1835, was to "form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and color, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect."[2] Although the varieties, kinds and intensity of transnational contacts have changed dramatically during the last quarter of a century, yet the underdeveloped countries of the world find it very difficult to overcome some of the harsh memories of these earlier contacts particularly when even today educational aid, like foreign aid in general, has been fostered by the exigencies of cold war, and the overriding concerns with winning allies in the battle of conflicting ideologies.

In recent years particularly since the Second World War, the policy rationale for educational aid has been to "make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life."[3] These words of President Truman convey the rationale of not only the American undertakings in educational aid but also without much substantive change the policy rationale of other aid-giving agencies and countries like Britain, France and the Soviet Union. The more substantive motivations of educational aid coming from all the aid-giving countries were mainly:

i) to strengthen the educational systems overseas through the application of the technical knowledge, and capabilities of the donor's academic community,

ii) to contribute to the development of human resources of the recipient countries so that they could in turn bring about material, economic, political and behavioral development, and

iii) peripherally to promote the donor's understanding of the political and social ferment that was increasingly emerging in the underdeveloped world.

---

[1] R. Freeman Butts, "America's Role in International Education: a Perspective," in the Sixty-eighth Yearbook of NSSE, Chicago, 1969.

[2] Macaulay's Minute in Government of India, Selections from Educational Records, Part 1, pp. 107-117.

[3] President Truman's Inaugural Address, 1949, in Government Programs in International Education (A Survey and Handbook), Forty-Second Report, U.S. Committee on Government Operations (Washington: 1959), p. 38.

The educational aid-giving countries whether they belong to the western world or to communist bloc have interpreted these motivations in the light of their own political and ideological commitments. Both want to strengthen the educational systems overseas and to help them with their human resource development. But each wants to do it in his own way. These have resulted in designs that have been inspired by their own educational philosophies and practices. Although we have come a long way from the time when educational aid meant simple transplantation of one's educational institutions in the developing countries yet we see in the contemporary models of educational aid the donor's concepts of development and modernization figuring very prominently even though they may not be compatible with the social, political and economic goals and values of the developing countries. This overriding concern with development defined in Marxian or Rostowian or Parsonian terms and its resulting multifaceted empirical specifications have further compounded the crisis of confidence. Myrdal's Asian Drama amply shows this relationship, or lack of it, between the existing development theories mainly originating in the developed countries of the world and state of affairs existing in the developing countries. If the main thrust of educational aid had been to help in bringing about change in an orderly evolutionary manner, it would have been a lofty enough goal, but when modernity or development was to be measured in terms of approaching or approximating the levels of development in the developed countries of the West then it imposed a different set of values on the developing countries and gave them different goals. Now we may succeed to some extent in such a venture particularly if educational aid is accompanied by dollars or machine guns but it is doubtful whether such aid would have any longer-lasting consequences.

Another aspect of the educational aid that has tarnished its efficacy has been its exclusive concern with improving the existing systems of schooling in the developing countries either through transplantation, or through grafting or through discovering new strains of the same basic staple. The sixties saw, with the help of educational aid from abroad, explosive expansion in these systems but in spite of this expansion, schools are scarce, available only to a small fraction of the population of the developing countries. If the goal of harmonious, democratic development is to be taken seriously then obviously much more than mere expansion of the existing systems is in order. The contemporary Reimer-Illich discussion about alternatives in education points out that schooling as concerned in the developed countries:

"i) is by nature exclusive, and discriminatory. Schooling maintains class distinctions and, in fact, creates them. Those whom it excludes and against whom it discriminates are the poor, and

ii) it guarantees chronic underdevelopment in the Third World. Underdevelopment is understood as a state of mind. This is not merely a structure of dependence, reinforced by the global economic set-up as controlled by the industrialized nations but, more importantly, the dependent countries will remain dependent so long as they conceive of themselves as underdeveloped in relation to an unquestioned notion of development."[4] Therefore if the underdeveloped nations of the world are ever to achieve their targets of economic and political development then their existing school systems must be reformed drastically or even replaced with those which cater to a much broader base of population, are less wasteful and more conducive to nurturing rather than stultifying the life-long capacities and desires for learning of their students.

Another problem related to educational aid, or for that matter all kinds of foreign aid, is its fundamental assumption regarding the primacy of stability as a necessary precondition for development. Aid therefore tends to further maintain and perpetuate the existing social, political and economic order in utter disregard to the fact that development implies change: political, social and economic change; and if popular participation in the processes of development and dispersion of its fruits among all segments of society is the goal then this change may be disruptive to start with. In education it is reflected in the attempts to maximize the efficiency and effectiveness of the existing systems. It is just like doubling the dose of the same medicine without caring to look for some alternative prescription.

Let us now take a brief look at some of the salient socio-economic realities of the aid-receiving countries. Their detailed differences notwithstanding, the underdeveloped countries of the world show some remarkable similarities of socio-economic patterns. Most of them are newly independent, ruled by authoritarian dictatorial regimes of one kind or another, with land-oriented economies and rigidly stratified and burgeoning populations. They are also characterized by a conspicuous lack of social and economic justice in spite of the rhetoric of their constitutions or their political leaders.

---

[4] Everett Reimer and Ivan Illich, Alternatives in Education, CIDOC, Cuernavaca, Mexico, 1968-69.

Population

In most of the underdeveloped countries of the world population has been increasing at an annual rate of 2.5 to 3.5 per cent. Although there are very few studies available to show any discernable socio-political consequences of this demographic explosion yet some meaningful relationships have been established to show that if this population explosion goes on unchecked it will lead to greater social and political unrest. For instance, the greater rate of population growth among the politically and economically marginal masses compared with the economically well off political elites does contain the seeds of further aggravating the plight of the former and the pressure on the latter. Urbanization mainly because of large-scale migration of rural unskilled laborers is further straining the already tense relationship of these two classes. The phenomenon of Naxilites in the Indian part of Bengal is a case in point. Another significant demographic feature of the underdeveloped societies is their rigid stratification into two major classes with a very small middle class in between them which is constantly coveting to be part of the upper while looking down upon those beneath them. The minority belonging to the upper class consists of those who control proportionately much larger portion of the means of production and their agents in the bureaucratic and military elites.

Southall has explored the relationship of the principles of stratification and elites in Africa.[5] Although Southall perceives of elite as "boundary straddling category of social actors, between the center and the periphery," and treats it as a dynamic organizational concept, yet when these elites are identified with the establishment then they invariably play an essentially conservative role. Whereas it is possible through this dynamic organizational concept of elites to show an enhanced rate of political development, but it is also a fact that those members of the elite group who have originally belonged to the lower strata of society align readily with the traditional elites to the detriment of the process of political development.

Politics

A glance at the political establishments of the underdeveloped countries shows a remarkable preponderance of autocratic, authoritarian regimes. Some of them are headed by charismatic political leaders with the whole regalia of a seemingly parliamentary democracy but the basic commitments and loyalties are to party leadership rather than to party policies. An increasingly greater number of underdeveloped countries are seeing the breakdown of even this seemingly democratic political set-up. This results in increasing military participation in the political affairs of the underdeveloped countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa. A great body of literature has developed during the last decade or so on the role and implications of military as a governing elite or as an agent of social and political change in the underdeveloped countries. Some of the scholarly researches done in the U.S.A. tend to show that military rule in the initial stages of development is a necessary condition for further development. Robert E. Dowse reports "we are now far more inclined to stress the variety of responses to modernization, its patchy and adaptive character, and to reject the idea of a homogeneous response. And we are, in consequence, less likely to regard military intervention as a deviation from some natural developmental sequence."[6]

Whatever the theoretical justifications for military regimes, their one characteristic is that they are non-representative and secondly there is no way to check them if they choose to decide simply to maintain the status quo. As Myrdal has pointed out in the case of Pakistan, "an upper class regime with army backing, even one that remains orderly and incorrupt, can easily be a static and protective framework, especially when its leadership becomes accustomed to power."[7] That's how we can explain why nobody has been redeemed so far in the underdeveloped world in spite of its army of redeemers.

Economic characteristics

The underdeveloped countries generally have land-based subsistence economies with a peculiar blending of the public and private sector. Since the means of production, primarily land, and the small industrial base, is controlled by a small minority, and this minority also constitutes the political elite, it is rather untenable to talk of the traditional public and private sectors of economy. Even the policies and activities of the so-called public sector lead to a greater concentration of capital in the hands of few. The Chief economist of the National Planning Commission of Pakistan has gone on record to show that only twenty families in a nation of about 130 million are controlling more than half of the total economy of Pakistan. Now we may explain this phenomenon as a necessary step for capital formation essential to ensure rising rates of marginal saving which can be reinvested for further economic growth. But the teeming millions may ask -- whose growth? It will be interesting to find out what role outside financial aid played in precipitating such a situation.

---

[5] A.W. Southall, "The Concepts of Elites and their Formation in Uganda," in P.C. Lloyd, The New Elites of Tropical Africa, London, 1966, pp. 342-366.

[6] Robert E. Dowse, "The Military and Political Development," in Colin Leys (ed.), Politics and Change in Developing Countries, Cambridge, 1969, p. 214.

[7] Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations, New York, 1968, Vol. 1, p. 340.

Since the economies of the underdeveloped countries have limited resources, any kind of developmental effort, with or without external aid, starts with an ordering of priorities. In this list of national priorities we find education invariably getting a lower rank. In most of the underdeveloped countries it ranks after defense, industrial, agricultural, and communication sectors. Therefore in these countries we find "too many armies, too much bureaucratic parasitism, too much unequal distribution and not enough production, too much concentration on display projects and neglect of infra-structure, too much articulation of conflicts between communities, in short too much politics for the elites, and not enough authentic participation for masses."[8]

Under these circumstances it is hardly surprising to find fantastically high percentages of illiterate, unskilled rural peasants who can never dream of getting even the rudiments of education for themselves or their younger generation. The educational systems that exist are exclusively available to the upper small segment of the community with their content mainly oriented to producing dysfunctional literates. As a distinguished Canadian has pointed out: "of one hundred children entering primary school in developing countries, no more than thirty finish. Indeed in most African and Latin American countries, more than fifty per cent of the primary pupils do not return to school after the second grade. Secondary schools are generally oriented toward academic study. Vocational training represents less than 10 percent of the total secondary enrollment. Moreover only one of about ten graduates from academic courses actually enters the university."[9]

One obvious response to such a situation has been to expand the system with the help of external aid and to reform its content to bring it in line with the demands of modern life. This had been the approach of the fifties and sixties through which specific short-term projects were undertaken by the donor countries with the hope that the spread effect of these will result in the necessary changes in the systems of education. The donor governments provide men, materials and ideas for augmenting the schools and colleges and other educational agencies of the developing countries. Aid undertakings therefore had been in specific project areas like assisting in technical and vocational education, audio-visual education, text and collateral material production, teacher training, diversification of curricula or building specialized institutions of higher learning. This approach was essentially partial, lacking any comprehensive design. Therefore it could not bring about overall reform in the systems. It merely scratched the surface.

Educational aid in the sixties saw another pattern emerging, and this is what Cole Brembeck has called the two-year module approach. Two-year contracts were awarded to universities in the donor countries to undertake the various chores of development overseas. The implications of this approach were that it lacked systematic long-term planning and it forced the carriers of innovation to fall back upon the tried and tested solutions in another ecological setting. The emphasis in this buckshot approach was not on understanding the problems first and then suggesting their solution. But in the first flush of excitement we reversed the logical processes of scientific and methodic solution of problems. We went in with ready-made answers, without developing alternative solutions, or testing them in the laboratory of real conditions.

Why did the academicians, while working as agents of their governments forsake this basic principle of their professional conduct? And why did they feel compelled to conform to the segmented two-year of four-year module requirements of the usual government aid contracts when they knew that problems of development are complex and defy short-term solutions? While there may be many possible and perhaps plausible answers to these questions, the basic fact is that today we may be able to show a few shiny specimens of success in a rubble of failure but we have gained precious little in the way of understanding the problems of development overseas and we still are lacking a comprehensive plan for launching a global attack on the multifaceted chronic ills of underdevelopment.

---

[8] J.P. Nettle, "The Study of Political Development," in Colin Leys, Politics and Change in Developing Countries, Cambridge, 1969, p. 19.

[9] Lester B. Pearson, Partners in Development, New York, 1967, p. 67.

Conclusions

The lists of our failures will grow and the crisis of confidence will continue to compound if we do not take steps to rectify the situation. Some excellent remedial measures have been suggested recently by Philip Coombs and others. The report of the task force on international development appointed by President Nixon has also some far-reaching suggestions for change in the strategies of outside assistance during the seventies. It seems concerted action in three border areas is needed.

Firstly, to understand the problems of development and dispensation of aid we need to establish a genuine two-way traffic of ideas between the donors and the recipients. The major aim of transcultural educational aid should be to establish truly collaborative co-operation among academicians around the world. This may mean taking aid arrangements out of the hands of the bureaucrats who control the purse strings or tie such programs with the vagaries of running a foreign policy. Education is too important to be left solely to the mercy of these. As the presidential task force on international development suggests, the donors "should not look for gratitude or votes, or any specific short-term foreign policy gains but the aim should be the long-term concern with building self-reliant and healthy societies." If this means a greater shift towards multilateral aid arrangements then these avenues ought to be explored more than they had been in the past.

Secondly, the very concept of development, its definitional priorities and its value premises have to be studied a little more thoroughly and empirically than has been done to date. In short, a new and comprehensive theory of development is needed. The problems of urbanization, population growth, immigration, nutrition, human resource development, ecological balances, and common concerns with the quality of human life have to be explored with the technical and methodological tools available to man in a multinational framework.

And finally, the whole area of formal education as it exists today needs a careful and critical appraisal, while it may be worthwhile to continue to expand the existing systems to accommodate increasingly greater numbers and to improve them qualitatively as a short-term measure. Yet new paradigms of teaching-learning process have also to be discovered which will not only be economical but also more efficient and effective. Implications of newer technologies and media of communication have to be explored.

More than anything else, the role and rationale of educational aid in the seventies and beyond should be to promote transnationally what the open Universities of South Africa intended to do, that is, to promote "the clash of mind between colleague and colleague, between teacher and student, between student and student.... It is here that the half-formed idea may take shape, the groundless belief be shattered, the developing theory be tested.... It is here that controversy develops, and out of controversy, deeper understanding."[10] This will be much more conducive to achieving the goals we have set before ourselves.

---

[10] "The Open Universities of South Africa," Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Quoted in Eric Ashby, Chancellor's Lecture, "Universities Under Seige," 1962.

A ROLE FOR INTERNATIONAL BORDER EDUCATION AND AGENCIES IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

by

Anoop Chandola
University of Arizona

Peace and prosperity are the most cherished goals of learning. Right or wrong, the public feeling in some parts of the world is that higher knowledge is becoming dangerous. This paper is an attempt in search of national and international peace and prosperity through education.

Among developing countries, let us take the case of Indian universities and colleges as an example. Every year some schools are closed temporarily because of some sort of strike or demonstration. Sometimes these strikes result in the loss of hundreds of thousands of rupees. Disruption of the smooth process of higher education ends in a big waste of time, energy and money without any assurance of future peace.

If you talk to a university student, you will quickly notice that one of the most important reasons for unrest is that the average student doubts the usefulness of his university degree in economic terms. He is rarely sure that his costly degree will ensure his employment. This uncertainty of a job haunts him so much that he begins to discredit the system, consciously or unconsciously, and attempts to change it. The efficiency of a business in which you invest a lot and get poor returns is obviously questionable.

One solution for reducing the joblessness of college graduates is to reduce the number of admissions in the beginning. It would be proper to consider higher education as a privilege, not a right, of only those students who are highly qualified and need further training. This limited number of meritorious students should be fully supported financially by their institution and/or government. Each department of a university should keep a record of how many of their graduates were properly employed right after graduation every year. They should restrict the number of their admissions accordingly. Eventually, a close balance between the supply and demand of jobs should be achieved.

Another problem is much more serious. Some of the developing countries have a drastic gap between their educational and military expenditures. Sometimes a country spends more than 50% on defense, but less than 5% on education. So it would be nice to imagine swapping these figures! That is, suppose you spend 50% on education and 5% on defense. Then most probably every student could be paid for his living while he is studying in a college. Of course, most of the money of such an imaginary figure would be invested in such a way that a job and a good living standard are assured to the college degree holder. To be more explicit, a big portion of the defense budget should be diverted to the development of food, health, education and other benefits for the younger generation.

The problem is that countries can not reduce their defense budgets as long as they fear each other. And we know that it is always the international borders where wars or even little skirmishes start. Needless to say, what a waste is war!

I don't think two bordering countries would want to fight each other if they had developed solid common interests and investments in each other's borders. A country could make its defense budget much more meaningful if most of it were spent on socio-economic and cultural development of its neighbor, especially along the border.

The question is: What can be done through education for such development of international borders?

One answer is that two neighboring countries establish common educational institutions across their borders; for example, a university with at least two campuses, one on each side of the international border. Such a joint university would aim for socio-economic and cultural development of the entire border region. This university should have no connection, direct or indirect, with anything which has military implications. Both countries would be responsible for financing; each would be responsible for the campus on its own side of the border. The common administration might be supported by United Nations agencies. Each campus normally should have 50% of its students from the other side of the border. The host campus should pay all of the necessary expenses of these students. This is like buying good will across your country's border. The faculties should include agriculture, medicine, technology, natural and biological sciences, fine arts, literature and social sciences. Common aspects of life and culture such as literary, linguistic and artistic conventions and traditions must be emphasized. Perhaps textbooks should be written or approved by the United Nations, so that there are no offending overtones. Scholars from other countries should also be invited to teach. Parents of the students should be invited to visit the campus and meet their neighbors. Visa and passport restrictions should be relaxed for the participants.

Eventually, through the efforts of these joint institutions, the bordering countries may share things like a common water project, a factory, a medical facility, an entertainment center, a highway to a scenic resort, etc. Such things can be accomplished in other ways, also; for example, an international agency planning and financing a common irrigational system for the border regions of two or more adjoining countries. Actually, most of the aid given by international organizations, countries or private agencies to the developing countries should be directed toward the border regions, and recipient countries should be persuaded to share the task of development. Such aids should be designated as "Common International Border Aid."

Here we may raise a question: Can two countries be persuaded to accept such a joint peaceful venture when they are mad at each other? It is well known how hard that is! However, developing countries that are friendly with each other might be given this chance. For example, Burma and India could be urged to develop their borders jointly. Even the more developed countries in Europe, Sweden and Norway for instance, or American countries such as the United States and Canada, and many others could profit from this idea.

Further details of such common international border programs can be worked out as needed. The point is, international development and education have to be made really complementary to each country. The prevailing educational systems must be considered a cumulative failure if they do not unite us in international peace and prosperity. A united world would not need military expenditures unless it feared attack by weird creatures from some crazy planet out in space!

THE ROLE AND RATIONALE FOR EDUCATIONAL AID IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: AN ARGENTINIAN PERSPECTIVE

by

Dr. Gustavo F.J. Cirigliano
University of Buenos Aires

and

Dr. Osvaldo Jorge Ruda
University of Ottawa

The subject "educational aid to other countries" undoubtedly belongs to the field of Comparative Education. Nevertheless, Comparative Education has been centred up-to-now almost exclusively on technical and quantitative aspects and neglecting from this emphasis other important implications.

The topic is relevant because it is referring to an action, an educational effort "amongst nations", namely, between two or more given educational systems. To be precise, it is the International Education, discipline very close to Comparative Education, which is interested also in this relationship "amongst nations". Comparatists have to be concerned on this new problematic from such a new action arisen. Whatever may be the structure of educational systems involved, necessarily they will be to some extent modified by this exchange. These modifications can be analyzed or described, and perhaps also measured or compared.

The task to design a project for educational aid and the means for performing and evaluating its results, belong strictly to the technical approach in Comparative Education. They constitute the "how" of the argument (or őti in Aristotelian terminology). However, at the same time, Comparatists need to state other different problems of theoretical order. These questions are also necessary to clarify the meaning and nature of the educational aid to foreign countries, besides technical aspects, and they point out the "what" and the "why" (the Aristotelian dióti) and, consequently, the "when" and proportion of aid, in relation to specific goals and ends.

In other words, to choose a developing country and to exclude another for educational aid, always implies a philosophical and even a political decision which goes beyond mere technical mechanisms of aid granting and execution. There are also other different theoretical problems, namely, what is the meaning of a particular aid; what is the meaning of the concept of educational development; to what extent it is possible to transfer results, attainments of purpose or ways of action from an educational system based upon a particular political structure into another implying a different political reality.

To remain within a mere technical approach seems to raise no major problems and some authors consider this view as a "neutral" one. Mechanisms are simple and consist in the translation of cultural traits or moving technological elements from one country into another. *V.g.*: To export automobiles or medicines or T.V. series or even psychological stereotypes to a nation seeking or lacking them. However, within the educational area these arguments obviously need a different frame of reference. Organized education always implies a system by means of which a country makes its efforts to prepare and promote its adequate human resources in accordance to a specific type of society.

It appears then the necessity to define what is an "educational aid" before cataloguing the existent programmes in the field. Such analysis could give us as a conclusion that in many cases the aid is not really an aid. We insist in this type of analysis because it strictly corresponds to Comparatists or philosophers of Comparative Education. If we neglect or evade this responsibility we will have no rights to deal authoritatively with our discipline and far from it to pretend that other scientists arrive to resolve our own problems.

1. The Need for Terminological Accuracy

Nobody rejects in principle the need for terminological accuracy, but in fact it has not always been put into practice. We all know as specialists that the term "developing country" (or "underdeveloped country") is so euphemistic and general that does not designate any concrete reality accurately. This is a relative connotation because it depends on the existence of a link between two or more homogeneous or heterogeneous elements and, therefore, points out that a country is on an inferior level or stage in relation to other. This relativity is clearly shown, for instance, if we agree that U.S.A. in 1960 was an underdeveloped country in respect to U.S.A. in 1970.

Of course, if we study a group of countries it will be possible to show that there are more advanced and other less advanced comparatively. However, we are able to make the following questions: a) Why all the countries have to get one type of development as their own goal?; b) What is the meaning of the term "development"? Is it or is it not an univocal term? We use it as we knew exactly its connotation and empirical value.

In Argentina we have a tradition which supports that the goal of education is the development of the whole personality of the individual. Nevertheless, we find that the same goal is univocally attributed to either the primary or the university education, without giving justice or taking into account the plurivocity of the term according to different levels of instruction. Same distinction can be made for terms such as "developed" or "developing" countries.

The idea of "aid" obviously results from the fact of existing advantaged and disadvantaged countries. Theoretically at least more advantaged countries must or are in better conditions to help the disadvantaged or lower ones. This help or aid shows a paradigma of international responsibility and solidarity, namely, the opening of possibilities to overcome in a given country a cultural and educational lag. According to the same paradigma underdeveloped countries have not the real possibility to be solidary toward their peers and often even toward themselves.

Notwithstanding, the term "in development", precisely by its relative character, foresees that always will exist "developing" countries although they could farther become more advanced than in today's situation. But, we may ask, advanced in what?

Since 1930 Argentina has suffered continuous changes in its political leading, social upheaval, *coups d'état*, alternate civilian and military governments. However, since 1862 to 1930 the country enjoyed stable constitutional governments. Nevertheless these factors every Argentinian today is convinced that his country is far more developed than 100 or 50 or 30 years ago and that it occupies a relevant place among the best in the Americas.

"Development" and "aid" are therefore very controversial terms. Comparatists cannot agree these terms have been fully analyzed or they are definitely clear enough. Taken as instrumental premises for further technical analysis and comparisons they could reveal a lack in the foundations of research. How is it possible strictly speaking of "aid" when often happens in reality that underdeveloped countries are paying a high price in financial and commercial impairment and brain-drain as contributions for those countries more developed?

In recent International Congresses it has been heard the statement that present world cannot be truly dichotomized in developed and underdeveloped countries, but otherwise in "exploiters" and "exploited" ones. Concerning the educational field we could quote the expression "pedagogical colonization" from the Argentinian sociologist Arturo Jauretche. This expression refers to the means of controlling, canalizying and "smoothing" either the progress or the eruption of nationalistic consciousness and human resources of developing zones of the world. (1)

Technically, the term "aid" points out the following realities:

a) Amounts of money, mainly destined to finance projects; these amounts may consist in grants or loans;
b) Technical assistance, usually constituted in appointments and sending of experts, granting scholarships and shipment of material or equipment.

Therefore, could be considered as goals of the "educational aid" the following ones:

1) To cooperate in the veridical solution of a veridical educational problem in a given country (or in several countries);
2) To realize a project concerning two or more countries, although this project does not imply a veridical solution to a real problem. So-called "prestige-projects" are variations of this kind;
3) Give to specialists of a developed country an opportunity to get an international educational experience, using the underdeveloped country or countries as experimental training field or fields and therefore gaining acquaintance with their culture and idiosincracy;
4) To demonstrate a feeling of international responsibility and solidarity. In negative cases this feeling can be badly transformed into "cultural imperialism", technological and ideological pressures or mere propaganda.

Concerning programmes and planning bilateral systems offer the advantage to be a more immediate knowledge or acquaintance between two countries, but can produce risks of partial and biased approaches disconnected from the whole of international relations.

Multilateral programmes and planning should be preferable, although the concertation of multiple national interests is a difficult and slower task. The choice of multilateral programmes and planning points out to the need of international or supernational organisms to coordinate efforts and to protect weaker countries. Here appears the problem of the high degree of burocratization these great organisms may attain supporting themselves and their own bureaucracy more than accomplishing their original tasks and natural goals.

2. The Need for a Theoretical View

We will try to analyze briefly under the light of the Philosophy of Comparative Education some propositions that, in our opinion, have to become integral part of a theoretical view to the problem of "international educational aid". Obviously, there will be more questions than satisfactory answers.

First, there is a theoretical appraisal about a distinct fact, namely, the "education among educational systems". We have to differentiate and evaluate it from mere routine technical treatments. Technical treatments are more immediate, at least for specialists. By the contrary, theoretical treatments constitute mediate and often controversial propositions. This reason makes difficult to introduce them in courses in Comparative Education offered by Faculties and Universities, particularly when these institutions of learning are more sensible to the problems of intra-national education than to those of international education. Referring to the situation of the teaching of Comparative Education in Canada, Dr. Joseph Katz stated (1962):

"The fact... that most faculties are engaged in training secondary teachers" fell upon the limited expansion of Comparative Education and the need to take Education as a field of study as such. (2)

We need, consequently, a change of axis or shift from the "intranational" to the "international" as field of study in Education. New categories and new assumptions open to discussion certainly shall reveal. This shift toward the international will imply new philosophical and ideological foundations to operate in the self realization of mankind, and not only the mere proclamation of the goodness, convenience and necessity of international action in education. As Dr. A.P. Ramunas says:

> "Man and mankind of the future will need four fundamental cultures: the natural or scientific, the human or humanistic, the humane or humanitarian, philanthropic and the divine or existential... The four fundamental cultures are not exclusive, but inclusive; not contradictory, but contrary and complementary." (3)

Returning to our point we could ask why graduates of the Faculties of Education in Argentina are in fact more acquainted with French, German, North American or Soviet educational systems than with those of neighbouring countries such as Uruguay, Chile or Brazil.

Why a developing country chooses some countries and neglects others as fields of study? Is this produced by teacher's preferences, by materials and information received? Is this a matter of policy? If this can happen with the election of a foreign educational system as a field of study, we may ask, conversely, for the other side of the picture: Why does a developed country decide to afford educational assistance to a particular underdeveloped country and denies to do the same with other ones? Is this motivated by factors of neighbourhood? Does it respond to a political planning or is it a matter of mere preferences or sympathy? Is this mainly due to technical reasons?

Comparatists should be very concerned and do not neglect this area of analysis. Somebody has written that "underdevelopment" is mainly a state of mind. Whether this statement be true or false, comparatists should take it into account and avoid limiting themselves to the analysis of the *per capita* income in dollars to define what underdevelopment is in a given country.

Until the present it seems that specialists have shown a great deal of interest computing the number of programmes and staff involved and dollars invested on them. Therefore, we may ask for the philosophy of education or the theoretical suppositions entangled in all these matters. In fact, we are able to get only scarce positive answers to these fundamental questions.

Looking to any educational aid system or programme between countries we find some common uses and procedures to analyze:

1) It is assumed that any aid system has to have some possibilities or anticipation of success;
2) Aid takes place between a country which is in need of something and other ones which can afford it, shaping it into a project;
3) Aiding or affording country offers what it has in stock, that is so, an "educational model or pattern", and, underneath, a "pattern of the country".

3. Category of the Anticipation of Success

Any educational aid system requires a minimum of warranty for success, that is, a concrete possibility to contribute to the progress in a given country. It is unthinkable to engage efforts in a country (developed or underdeveloped) to pursue a task condemned to failure from the very beginning.

Comparative Education is a very useful discipline in this respect because can show that results obtained in a country can be transformed in goals for another. But we may ask whether or not Comparative Education has an adequate methodology to deal with and to elaborate previsions. At the present stage of scientific research we believe that Comparative Education still has to resolve many problems about the nature of its measuring instruments. In fact, we do not have yet a clear idea about the meaning of the term "to compare". (4)

However, there are several typologies useful to explore comparatively developmental levels among countries. Perhaps we will attain some day the possibility of measuring factors involved in development, with particular reference to the training of human resources, essential aspect of Education. We can mention typologies such as those of Harbison & Myers (5), or those of Bruce, Russett, Banks & Textor, M. Dechmann & V. Bornschier, Apter, etc. (6). But even these elaborate instruments cannot resolve the problem of the human factors involved in the anticipation of success.

In other words, is very difficult to find out in usual typologies procedures to evaluate the *drive* or *impulse* or *pushing* or *moral energy* in a given country or zone able to carry on or to pursue a change diligently.

Studying Dr. Harbison's typology, I wrote (Dr. Cirigliano) explaining him about the possibility to find out that two or more countries with similar or identical ranking position according with his indicators, could be however very different in will, morale, activity or dynamic attitudes, that is, in one case more positive than in the other. Usual indicators could not register these attitudinal variations, namely, the *drive* or human impulse of a given social group or community. Dr. Harbison answered us suggesting some variation of *N-ach* concept of Prof. MacClelland as a mere possibility. We are not acquainted with this indicator.

In fact a country not only put things in action because *is able* to do them or *can* do them (*natural and human resources*) but mainly because it *will* (*differential quality of human* *resources*). (7)

This *drive* could be understood as a sort of category for the anticipation of success. Some attempts have been made in Argentina in this respect. First, we have to mention the experimental research (Dr. Ruda) that I made as director of the Educational and Psychological Mission in Patagonia sent by the National University of the South, Bahía Blanca, Buenos Aires. This Mission worked for a year on mental level, vocational interests, personality, group dynamics and socio-economical status of 1628 high school students (a sample of 48.22% of the total secondary students of that year, 1960) of a vast region (753.000 Km^2) scarcely populated but very rich in natural and human potentialities. (8) The results obtained were significant, not only from an actuarial point of view, but also as an appraisal of motivations of individuals and groups.

Second, the concept of "psychological density" forged by Prof. Juan Dalma, of the National University of Tucuman. Concept that is an approach in the search of that indicator, because tries to evaluate temperamental, emotional and moral factors which may originate predictable actions, that is, produce voluntary changes in social and educational reality. Dalma understands by *psychological density* ("densidad psiquica") of a given population of a particular zone or geographical area, the degree of individual psychological emancipation and differentiation by area or surface unit, in relation to the total population. He considers this factor as an useful instrument to solve failures and unbalances in human resources and preventing planning for action. The "psychological density" indicates those energies or drives disposable for development in a given country or social group. Dalma says: "Statistics and actuarial tables only refer as indicators to age, births, deaths, professions, rent, illnesses, etc. But the animic 'weight' and intellectual potential of individuals, that constitutes the most valuable capital, is absent from statistics". (9) The polarity nomotheticism vs. idiographicism so important in Psychology according to Gordon W. Allport (10) is also relevant around this key concept in Comparative Education.

We need to deepen and to amplificate our comparative instruments to be able of adequate prognosis in aid educational programmes. This is important for both sides: developed and developing countries. If assisted or underdeveloped nations lack of drive, moral dynamism or "psychological density" we cannot expect a significant amelioration. But, at the same time, aid cannot be cut, not only by humanitarian or political reasons, but also to avoid a hard epistemological determinism, outmoded legacy of XIX century positivism.

4. *Category of Needs*

A developing country has, undoubtedly, educational needs. But, what is the criterion to evaluate them? A more developed country may have concrete ways of solution to these needs, but, what is its rationale for educational aid?

Usually aid programmes articulate in projects. Projects are elaborated mechanisms which specify the original needs, goals, means or instruments, timing and investment. However, what are the patterns existing beneath the "reality" of educational needs? Empirically, they can be approached by comparison to other countries with almost similar needs. But we have just discussed the inaccuracy of comparative instruments in education.

In proportion to its advancement can appear in a country needs that will be beyond its financial resources. Growth rate of educational needs increases faster than available money to invest. Satisfied needs tend to produce new needs to be also satisfied.

Argentina has now problems related to its university development. The report on *Education, Human Resources and Development in Argentina*, made by the Organization For Economic Cooperation and Development, O.C.D.E. (Paris, France, 1968) says, for instance, about the "Social and Economic Goals of University Training" and the "Profit or Utilization of its Educational System":

> "En fait, on pourrait dire qu'en Argentine le problème n'est pas tant d'*accroître* les effectifs inscrits que de les *retenir* à l'école ou à l'Université jusqu'à ce qu'ils terminent leurs études avec succès...:
>
> "Une mauvaise utilisation du personnel qualifié peut se manifester des plusieurs manières, la plus évidente étant le chômage et *le phénomène bien connu de l'émigration des cadres*. Mais il en est d'autres moins visibles et plus insidieuses: par exemple, l'emploi de travailleurs hautement qualifiés à des tâches requérant un niveau nettement moins élevé. Le cas est fréquent en Argentine, où de très nombreaux diplômés universitaires occupent des postes n'ayant que peu de rapport - voire aucun rapport - avec le type ou le niveau des études qu'ils ont faites." (11)

We believe that a good aid programme -- and there is one in negotiation -- undoubtedly will be very useful. But also we have to remark that along 16 years more than 6,500 Argentinian university professionals (medicine doctors, professors, teachers, dentists, engineers in several specialities, psychologists, and technicians) have emigrated and got positions in U.S.A. (and some of them in Canada...) Facing this fact, we may ask, what country was in educational need?

In relation to this category of needs other questions can be made. For instance, the so called "prestige-projects" of national or international kind. Are "prestige-projects" really valid for educational needs? (Except, of course, for the needs of their own authors...).

Other projects serve for outmoded, discarded or residual technologies. Does placing of such programmes really respond to needs in developing countries or otherwise engage them in hard expensive maintenance investments?

Bureaucratic machinery in international organizations almost inevitably produce its own needs to be attended. What is a reasonable limit or bound to establish in the conflict between such needs and those of developing countries?

5. Category of Transference of Educational Patterns

Developing countries seeking educational aid face out the following riddle or dilemma: Developed countries only are able to afford what they have about, either technical assistance or loans to buy it. Incorporation of educational technology (experts, equipment, texts, scholarships, etc.) implies the assimilation of a model of the aiding country or its "educational pattern". Experts, texts, equipment are functions of this educational structure. In turn, educational patterns are functions of "a model of the country". In fact, this assumed "model of the country" and its educational patterns may adjust or not into the concrete educational structure of the underdeveloped country who receives them. It is possible to answer that this is no concern of the developed country. But an aiding situation implies a mutual or reciprocal relationship and necessarily a double responsibility. It could happen that granting an aid in education would become a burdensome for the development of a poor country.

For instance, generally speaking developed countries have educational systems which imply a high (extensive or intensive) schooling. Transference of these patterns to underdeveloped countries necessarily will assume similar goals in "schooling". However some authors today are discussing the validity of "schooling" for educational development and, consequently, in aid programmes. Ivan Illich in The Futility of Schooling in Latin America says:

> "It was assumed that schooling would eventually produce a broad middle class with values resembling those of highly industrialized nations, despite the economy of continued scarcity. Accumulating evidence now indicates that schooling does not and cannot produce the expected results." (12)

If developed countries only are able to afford what they have about, then it seems inevitable that developing countries have to follow up the same steps as their models however the hurdles, difficulties or failures would be involved in aid programmes. "Everywhere in Latin America (with the exception of very few countries) -- says Illich -- more money for schools means more privilege for a few at the cost of most." (12)

High schooling situation appears, then, as controversial in the relationship between developed and underdeveloped countries. In what measure this relationship promotes a real aid? How is it possible to modify or to erradicate this present orientation from aid programmes? Is it a real aid to afford developing countries with outmoded institutions? "Latin America cannot afford to maintain outmoded social institutions (like school systems) amid modern technological processes." (12)

Perhaps we could imagine ideal conditions for a good system without any type of imposed patterns for educational development. But this is extremely difficult because social institutions and educational patterns are inextricably linked within the context of present educational aid programmes.

Nevertheless, the possibility to further solutions could be raised from a global regional effort embracing countries with similar problems. Perhaps it could be possible to create an original and integral pattern -- not a mere transference of old ones -- through the agreement of several countries under similar conditions of development.

Paradoxically, the rationale for developed countries should consist in affording an educational aid not yet reached by them. This utopical programme should engage their potentialities toward the future, not only their present ones, and far from it, the remnants of their past to keep alive in underdeveloped countries outmoded educational patterns.

Today we can foresee some trends that in the near future will be emphasized:

1) Reduction of schooling, because it cannot be stretched out indefinitely (and this is also a problem for advanced countries);
2) Increased use of mass means of communication emphasizing educational content;
3) The design of a new system for social recognition of learning.

An old Spanish proverb says: "Más hace el que quiere que el que puede". Its translation could be applied to both sides of the picture: "Where there's a will there's a way".

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(1) Jauretche, Arturo: Los profetas del odio y la yapa, Buenos Aires, A.Peña Lillo Editor, 1968, pp. 143 & ff.-

(2) Katz, Joseph: "Comparative Education and External Aid Programs in Canada", in Comparative Education Review, June 1962.-

(3) Paplauskas-Ramunas, Anthony: Development of the Whole Man through Physical Education, University of Ottawa Press, 1968, pp. 371-2. A Spanish translation of this book made by O.J. Ruda will be published this year in Spain, under the title: La Educación Física en el Siglo XX. Investigación Comparativa e Interdisciplinaria.-

(4) Cirigliano, Gustavo F.J.: "Stages of Analysis in Comparative Education", in Comparative Education Review, Vol. 10 n. 1, February 1966.-

(5) Harbison, Frederick & Myers, Charles A.: Education, Manpower and Economic Growth, McGraw Hill, New York, 1964.-

(6) Mora y Araujo, Manuel y Sito, Nilda: Ensayo Comparativo sobre la posición de la Argentina en el Sistema Internacional, Bariloche, Argentina, 1969. These authors have used mentioned typologies for their research.-

(7) Cirigliano, Gustavo F.J.: "Recursos Humanos, Psichología y Desarrollo", in Clarín, Buenos Aires, August 18, 1968.-

(8) Ruda, Osvaldo Jorge: Misión Psicopedagógica en la Patagonia, Bahía Blanca, Argentina, Universidad Nacional del Sur, Instituto de Humanidades, 1960.-

(9) Dalma, Juan: La Doctrina de la Densidad Psicológica de la Población, Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Argentina, Instituto de Sociografía y Planeación, 1957, pp. 40-1.-

(10) Allport, Gordon W.: Pattern and Growth in Personality, New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967, pp. 8-13.-

(11) O.C.D.E. (Organisation de Coopération et de Développement Economiques): Education, Ressources Humaines et Développement en Argentine, Paris, 1967-68; two volumes (one in French and the other in English, with methodological problems and statistical data of the research made); pp. 30-31 (First volume).-

(12) Illich, Ivan: "The Futility of Schooling in Latin America", New York, Saturday Review, April 20, 1968.-

THE ROLE AND RATIONALE FOR EDUCATIONAL AID IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

by

W. D. Coombs

Various speakers have been assigned the topic, "The Role and Rationale for Educational Aid." Since my own experience has been limited largely to the administration of Canada's bilateral programmes in education, it is within that context that I am able to speak. The topic and sub-topics have been prescribed by those responsible for planning the congress, and it is my intention to fulfil that prescription as directly as possible.

I understand "development" to mean a process of growth and change in a society aimed at improving the quality of life of the members of that society in accordance with their own aspirations, their own standards, and their own values. The Secretary General of UNESCO once defined development as "growth plus change; change in turn is social and cultural as well as economic, and qualitative as well as quantitative." "Development assistance" or "aid" denotes the process whereby one country transfers resources to another to assist in its development. The word "co-operation" is being used increasingly to denote the development assistance process, and it more accurately describes what the process is, or ideally what it should become.

Since the ultimate aim of development assistance is to increase the well being and happiness of the people living in the recipient countries, it seems apparent that such people should determine their own development goals. In addition, it should be understood that it is the people of the developing countries who assume by far the greater proportion of the financial responsibility for development. This requires, of course, a high degree of economic sacrifice and internal self-discipline. It also demands acceptance of the reality that development is a difficult and often painful process requiring continuous effort over relatively long periods of time.

Education is regarded as a most important vehicle for development, and has both direct and indirect effects upon development.

The direct economic impact of education is upon the quantity and quality of occupational skills. Somewhat more indirectly education may raise the level of initiative and inventiveness of the population; it may improve consumptive patterns, and may promote economic and social mobility. The education system can also serve as a selection instrument through which society finds itself leaders and improves their quality.

Canada was first introduced to the development process during and immediately following World War II, when transfers of resources were made to Europe. The aid programme as now constituted resulted from a series of ad hoc decisions taken by Canada as one of the principal industrialized nations whose economy had survived the war. Canada took an interest in the reconstruction of the United Kingdom and Europe and in the provision of assistance through UNRRA. In 1950 we participated in the formation of the Colombo Plan to assist the newly independent Commonwealth Nations of Asia. We learned that helping to rebuild societies in which there is a long industrial tradition and an abundant supply of the necessary human skills, as was the case with the Marshall Plan in Europe, is quite different in many respects from aiding in the formation of a modern industrial society in countries which do not have this background and these skills.

The role which education can play in the development process is envisaged as an important one indeed. Irving S. Friedman, the Economic Adviser to the President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, remarked: "The basic problem of much of the underdeveloped world is not so much a poverty of natural resources as the underdevelopment of their human resources. A commanding priority is to build up human capital, or to put it in more human terms, to renovate and update the entire process by which men and societies become modern".[1]

Professor Sir Arthur Lewis, in discussing the economics of education, wrote:

> "One does not have to follow the statisticians in their speculations to recognize that the human mind has played the major role in economic progress. It is for lack of knowledge that the African farmer produces seven hundredweight of maize from an acre instead of thirty hundredweight; and for the lack of knowledge that half the calves born to his cows died within the first

---

[1] Irving S. Friedman: "The Role of Education in a Development Strategy". Address to the European Regional Conference on Educational Assistance to Developing Areas--Its Social and Economic Effects: Cologne, Germany, May 4, 1970.

> 18 months. In industry there would be no shortage of capital in manufacturing, at current wages, if the worker possessed the same skills as workers in industrial countries. The basic reason why poor countries are poor is unquestionably because they lack knowledge."[2]

At a time when the peoples of the world look to education as the important means to the better life, it is particularly distressing to contemplate the popular view that the educational systems in both the developed and developing countries are irrelevant to the needs of the societies which they are intended to serve. Relevancy has both time and place dimensions, and I recall the words of Mr. W.O. Briggs, Nigerian Federal Commissioner for Education at the National Curriculum Conference in Lagos last September:

> "No doubt the educational system we inherited was a good one - good, that is, for the country and society for which it was planned; good for England and the English society. But it was not good for us, because it neglected to take into account our cultural and social background; because it has tended to produce an educated class of pen-pushers, and because it failed to lay the foundations of economic freedom by providing the manual skills and expertise necessary for successful industrial and agricultural development."

In the past, the main thrust has been to expand the existing educational establishment as rapidly as possible with few changes in structure and curriculum. The aim was to increase the number of young people attending educational institutions at all levels. Quantitatively progress has been made. In less than one generation student enrollments in the world have more than doubled. This, I understand, is true of educational expenditures as well. There are severe budgetary limitations to educational expansion in the developing countries set by the low per capita income and the high unit cost of education. Ever present in the planning process is the question as to whether or not the recipient country will be able to meet recurring costs. Following a rapid rise the rate of educational expansion is slowing as educational systems approach expenditure ceilings.

While quantitative gains are impressive they tend to conceal the qualitative shortcomings that hinder the realization of development objectives. Because ex-colonial countries have inherited educational systems that are not relevant to their needs, there exists a disharmony between educational systems and the constantly changing environments which they are expected to serve. For example, I understand that of 100 children entering primary school in some of the less developed countries no more than 30 finish. In most African and latin American countries more than 50% of the primary school pupils do not return to school after the second grade. Secondary schools are oriented to academic study, and few graduates enter university upon the completion of high school studies. The process of the classroom is not necessarily education and the result could even serve to reduce the productive potential rather than to increase it. On the other hand, much valuable education may take place away from the school, in the home, through adult programmes designed to fit the needs of the individual to play his role in the community or through on-the-job apprenticeship programmes.

The Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (O.E.C.D.) urges donor countries to review their aid programmes with recipient countries so as to help them correct weaknesses and imbalances in their educational systems which impede the contributions of education to the expanding needs of the economy. Receiving particular attention are the problems of teacher training, science teaching and technical training, the more productive use of existing resources and rural education.

It is then, within the milieu of needs, goals and obstacles to their attainment that the Canadian International Development Agency, in co-operation with and at the request of the less developed nations, plans and implements programmes of educational development assistance. Most of our assistance has been provided bilaterally, that is, on a country to country basis. Aid is essentially a matter of matching need with the potential of the donor while making whatever adaptations that may be necessary. Each project must be chosen with care and a close liaison maintained with the developing country. Our latest Annual Review mentions that Canada is providing an increasing amount of assistance for preinvestment and feasibility studies to help developing countries find the projects which will contribute most effectively to their economic and social growth. In addition, of course, there is a close liaison with the many sectors within Canada, in an attempt to bring the full capabilities of the country to bear on the development process.

---

[2] W. Arthur Lewis: Some Aspects of Economic Development: Ghana Publishing Corporation, Chapter 2, Page 19.

The educational programme can for purposes of convenience be divided into two parts: sending Canadian educators to the developing countries and receiving students from abroad for training in Canada. In both programmes, CIDA works closely with universities, technical institutes, industry, and various departments within the federal and provincial governments. Such support and assistance is essential to the success of our plans both for trainees, and the supply of qualified staff for service within the developing countries. More recently, and in keeping with the same move by other donors, Canada has introduced a "third country training" programme. Under this programme students financed by the Canadian International Development Agency are educated in another developing country, usually near their own nation. The rationale for "third country training" is that certain programmes of study within the geographic region are likely to be relevant to the needs of the student's own country. Certainly there are some fundamental geographical differences between temperate Canada and the tropical developing countries. It is hoped that the student may face less cultural shock by studying in an adjoining country. In addition such programmes may help to strengthen the institutions of learning within the developing countries. Since such programmes have only recently been introduced, there has been little opportunity to evaluate their effectiveness. However, the concept has met with mutual enthusiasm of donor and recipient. I might add that the implementation of such programmes is not always easy under the existing relationships between the partners in the development process.

While the responsibility for the working out of realistic educational strategies must ultimately lie with the developing country, considerable assistance is given by such international organizations as the Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and UNESCO. In this regard, and where a recipient nation lacks a national plan, needs may become defined in the day to day requests for aid and the experience gained by donor nations in meeting such requests. We have gained, too, in our knowledge and understanding of needs and goals through the attendance at national and international education conferences denoted to the examination of these matters. Nevertheless research, survey and assessment are essential to the better definition of targets, improvements in the distribution of assistance and for the evaluation of results.

In accordance with recommendations and consistent with requests from the developing countries, we have been sending personnel abroad to assist in the training of teachers. At least 50% of the teachers and teacher trainers under our programme are specialists in mathematics and the sciences. In addition there has been increased support for technical and vocational education. On the University scene, Canadians are serving as members of faculties in such disciplines as are considered to be of particular importance to national development. Included in this particular emphasis are agriculture, engineering, education and the sciences.

With regard to training programmes within Canada, it is interesting to note that fewer requests are being received from Asia and the Caribbean area which are now able to accommodate more students in their own universities and technical institutions. Priority areas are stressed in the granting of scholarships in Canada. Considered to be of particular importance are studies in agriculture, teacher training and natural resources. In addition, group programmes are arranged in public and business administration, co-operatives, and agricultural and fish marketing.

In addition to the bilateral programmes of the Canadian International Development Agency, some of our resources are allocated for the multilateral aid programme. As you know, the term "multilateral aid" refers to the assistance given from a multinational pool of resources. The United Nations agencies, including the World Bank, constitute the majority of multilateral aid-giving institutions. Some of the usual arguments in support of multilateral aid are that it is generally highly acceptable to recipients, that multilateral agencies are able to influence development policies, and that being "international", multilateral aid allows for excellent co-ordination of effort.

My concentration has been on the educational assistance programmes of the Canadian International Development Agency. In addition, as you well know, there are the programmes of the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO). While I am in no position to speak for CUSO, it would be, I think, inappropriate to neglect mention of these programmes which, because of their voluntary nature have allowed for considerable flexibility in planning and have been characterized by many new and imaginative initiatives in such important areas as selection, orientation and supervision.

The presentation of a short paper such as this necessitates a kind of dangerous generalization. Hand in hand with generalization goes the equally dangerous tendency towards simplification. Development and development assistance far from being simple processes are complex in the extreme. I know of no panaceas, and each course that is chosen proves to be marked with imperfections. We rely so much upon a manpower approach to educational planning, aware at the same time of its inherent weaknesses. How does one predict with accuracy the future

demand-supply balance? Present work force demands may bear little relationship to future demands. People do not always work at the jobs for which they have been prepared -- a fact that is well known to those of you who have been involved in the preparation of teachers, particularly in the developing countries. In any case, even though there are many complexities to be understood and problems to be solved in the development process, there is little need and no advantage in despair. We are in a real sense pioneers in a new endeavour. The phenomenon of the emerging nations is the singularly most important event in our age. Someone has suggested that the first step in the solution of a difficult problem is in understanding the nature of the problem. This at least we have begun to do.

L'AIDE EDUCATIVE AUX PAYS EN VOIE DE DEVELOPPEMENT

Avigdor Farine

Le but de cette communication est de stimuler la discussion sur l'aide éducative aux pays en voie de développement. Dans le cadre de l'Année d'éducation internationale, il semble digne des sociétés d'éducation comparée et internationale de poursuivre un échange sur les divers aspects de cette aide. Puisqu'il est difficile de séparer l'aide éducative de l'ensemble des apports nationaux au développement des nouvelles nations, la discussion portera sur ces différents apports.

Par la résolution 1710 du 19 décembre 1961, l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies a proclamé les années 1961-1970 "la décennie des Nations Unies pour le développement" dont l'objectif était un taux minimum de croissance annuelle du revenu national global de 5% pour chaque pays sous-développé. L'éducation devrait être le pilier de base - le promoteur du développement socio-économique.

Il allait de soi que, sans aide extérieure, les pays sous-développés n'arriveraient jamais à un "décollage" économique. Certaines études se sont efforcées de déterminer l'étendue de cette aide. Chaque année, les organismes internationaux et une trentaine d'Etats consacrent plus de dix milliards de dollars à l'aide aux pays sous-développés, sous la forme d'aide multilatérale, d'aide bilatérale - l'assistance technique éducative incluse - de prêts, de dons et d'investissements privés.[1] L'aide prend ainsi le caractère d'un service public international.

Les motifs de l'aide sont multiples; pratiquée par différentes ex-métropoles en faveur de leurs anciennes colonies ou par des Etats en quête de nouvelles influences, elle a un fondement politique. L'aide contribue à la sécurité mondiale. Elle se justifie aussi sur une base économique. En fait, les deux tiers de cette aide bilatérale, comportant la plus grande partie de l'aide internationale, na va pas sans liens : la plupart du temps le pays assisté a l'obligation d'acheter dans le pays aidant ou, au mieux, dans d'autres pays en voie de développement de la même zone monétaire. En théorie, grâce à l'aide internationale, la position commerciale des pays en voie de développement s'améliorerait par rapport à celle des pays actuellement industrialisés; le pouvoir d'achat des populations sous-développées grandirait et chaque nation trouverait pour sa croissance socio-économique et culturelle les conditions les plus adaptées à ses propres possibilités dans le cadre d'échanges internationaux. Les besoins sont encore très grands, comme il apparaît à partir des données officielles. C'est ainsi que toute la question d'aide extérieure est mise en cause pour des raisons de distribution plus équitable de l'aide entre plus de cent pays en voie de développement, afin d'atteindre à une efficacité maximale.

Il y a aussi le devoir de solidarité qui interdit de conserver une situation dans laquelle le quart de l'humanité a un niveau de vie quatre fois supérieur à celui des trois autres quarts. D'ailleurs, par l'intermédiaire de l'assistance technique éducative, le croisement des cultures peut contribuer à plus de communication et de compréhension internationale, dans un esprit de coopération.

Selon l'O.C.D.E., plusieurs membres du C.A.D. (Comité d'aide au développement) ont élaboré des plans détaillés ou se sont fixé des objectifs précis en vue d'atteindre le plus tôt possible "l'objectif de 1%" de leur revenu national en aide aux pays en voie de développement, sous forme d'apports nets publics et privés.[2] Les apports américains, français et britanniques se sont stabilisés autour du niveau atteint en 1961 et leurs possibilités de progresser sensiblement à moyen terme semblent douteuses. Par contre, des progressions rapides sont enregistrées par les trois pays scandinaves, le Canada, les Pays-Bas et l'Allemagne fédérale.

---

[1] F. Luchaire, L'Aide aux pays sous-développés, Paris : P.U.F., Collection Que sais-je?, 1966.

[2] L'Observateur de l'O.C.D.E., No. 38, février 1969, pp. 16-20.

Il est difficile de parler d'aide désintéressée, mais l'effort des pays scandinaves semble exemplaire. Leur aide apparaît davantage "dépolitisée". Ils n'ont pas eu traditionnellement des liens particuliers avec les pays du Tiers Monde. Leur représentation réduite dans les pays assistés constitue un handicap par rapport aux donneurs d'aide qui s'appuient dans les pays aides sur des relations traditionnelles, sur une communauté de langue ou sur la présence de missions d'aide. Par contre, ce premier groupe, guidé par un intérêt marqué pour la coopération, contribue davantage aux programmes multilatéraux des Nations Unies, de la B.I.R.D. (Banque Internationale pour la Reconstruction et le Développement), des Banques régionales de développement, etc. La Suède, par exemple, aurait prévu pour 1970-71, 51.5 millions de dollars en contributions aux programmes multilatéraux, contre 75.5 millions aux programmes bilatéraux. Pour la même année, le Danemark prévoit 26.6 millions de dollars pour des programmes internationaux et 26.6 millions de dollars pour des prêts et pour l'assistance technique bilatérale. Les deux Etats dépassent de beaucoup la moyenne de contributions fournies par les pays donneurs aux organisations internationales.

Revenons au sujet de l'assistance technique éducative. La France est l'un des plus actifs à pourvoir par son "Service de Coopération" de personnel enseignant pour le secondaire et l'enseignement supérieur en Afrique francophone. Les écoles normales supérieures et les universités africaines ne pouvant pas former pour le moment le nombre requis d'enseignants qualifiés et la France en ayant besoin elle-même, le Canada a pris la relève pour répondre en partie à la demande d'enseignants. Par les membres du "Peace Corps" qui, en fin de compte, se sont concentrés dans l'enseignement, les Etats-Unis ont contribué au besoin de cadres enseignants. De même, les pays de l'est,[3] le Royaume-Uni et les pays de la communauté européenne envoient des enseignants ou des instructeurs aux pays en voie de développement, dans le cadre de leur assistance technique. Il y a aussi les "volontaires du progrès", c'est-à-dire des gens peut-être moins qualifiés pour l'enseignement, mais qui sont prêts à travailler au niveau du village, dans la brousse, dans des conditions difficiles et des salaires moins élevés, qui ne sont pas moins requis que les techniciens, car ils rendent le développement rural plus facilement réalisable. Leur dévouement devait servir d'exemple à toute oeuvre outre-mer. Nous n'incluons pas dans notre communication les ordres religieux qui occupent une place respectable dans le système d'enseignement de ces Etats.

On peut se poser les questions suivantes : après dix ans d'assistance technique, n'est-il pas temps de réévaluer l'aide éducative offerte? Est-ce qu'on ne continue pas à soutenir des "colonies" d'enseignants onéreuses, concentrées dans les capitales ou les villes côtières principales? Contribue-t-on vraiment au développement d'un système d'enseignement adapté au milieu? Laisse-t-on dans le cadre de l'assistance technique bilatérale, assez d'autonomie d'action aux autorités éducatives locales pour pouvoir recruter par eux-mêmes les enseignants dont elles ont besoin? Dans la saturation d'enseignants qui existe actuellement dans différents pays, il serait facile et moins onéreux aux Etats de trouver la main-d'oeuvre qualifiée requise. Les pays scandinaves, par exemple, octroient plus de sommes en dons qu'en prêts dans le cadre des programmes bilatéraux, laissant aux pays assistés la gestion des projets scolaires dans leur ensemble. Il serait très instructif de comparer l'efficacité d'une entreprise scolaire dirigée sur cette base avec celle adminstrée sous contrôle des missions d'aide.

Les pays en voie de développement cherchent des voies nouvelles pour l'enseignement et la formation. A titre d'exemple, reprenons le problème de l'éducation en Afrique. A l'exception du Mexique, où avant la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale l'éducation fut considérée comme la panacée à tous les problèmes socio-économiques, jamais auparavent dans l'histoire l'éducation comme moyen de promotion sociale ne fut considérée avec autant d'enthousiasme qu'en Afrique depuis une quinzaine d'années. La Conférence d'Addis Abéba est typique des "grandes espérances" de 1961. Tenue dans la ligne des indépendances fraîchement acquises par de nombreux Etats et partant du postulat que l'éducation est un apport au développement socio-économique, la Conférence invitait tous les pays africains "à consacrer une grande partie de leurs ressources au développement de l'éducation, qui déboucherait sur l'élimination de l'analphabétisme vers 1980". Ce plan de développement recensait tous les niveaux d'enseignement. Il dégageait les liens de l'éducation et de l'économie en considérant l'éducation comme un investissement productif. Il reconnaissait l'ampleur des besoins et des crédits nécessaires et proposait certaines priorités à l'enseignement secondaire pour la formation des cadres. Tout en reconnaissant les dépenses écrasantes à engager, le plan soulignait "la volonté ferme des Etats africains à faire des sacrifices pour atteindre avec l'aide extérieure les buts fixés".

---

[3] V. Vassilev, Aide des Pays de l'Est aux Pays en Voie de Développement, Paris : O.C.D.E., 1970.

Sept ans après, la Conférence de Nairobi en juillet 1968 fut un bilan de désenchantement, en ce sens que l'expérience acquise depuis l'avènement des indépendances, les obstacles financiers et les limitations de l'aide extérieure ont ramené les gens à la réalité. Si on revoit le contenu de la Conférence, on peut se faire une idée des tendances actuelles de l'enseignement en Afrique. Après des années d'effort, le bilan démontre que dans son ensemble le continent africain n'a pas atteint les objectifs d'Addis Abéba, sauf pour l'enseignement supérieur. Au primaire le bilan est même désastreux. Le combat contre l'analphabétisme semble perdu. En effet, le faible rendement des systèmes éducatifs conduit, en raison des taux de déperdition très élevées, à expliquer cet échec. Le plan d'Addis Abéba est loin d'être appliqué. Par souci de réalisme, il est admis que les objectifs de 1961 seront revisés pour chaque Gouvernement qui établirait ses propres priorités et son rythme particulier de développement éducatif national. L'accent a été mis sur une articulation de l'éducation entre la recherche et la formation du personnel scientifique, une formation renovée du personnel enseignant et la mise en oeuvre des programmes de fabrication de matériel pédagogique en Afrique.

Plus généralement, une réorientation et une rêforme du contenu de l'éducation ont été reconnues indispensables. La liaison entre l'enseignement et le milieu d'une part, puis d'autre part la place des sciences et de la technologie au niveau secondaire seront étendues; la formation scientifique dispensée par les universités (200 hommes de science par million d'habitants) doit être mise en oeuvre. La création de Centres d'Etudes avancées fut en principe discutée, mais, pratiquement, c'est à ûn renforcement de certains instituts ou départements de recherche universitaire qu'on doit recourir pour une meilleure formation scientifique, tout en leur donnant une vocation inter-africaine et en coordonnant la recherche avec les secteurs productifs de l'économie.

En résumé, dans l'esprit d'une vraie coopération internationale, quel est le genre d'aide que les universitaires peuvent apporter au développement des systèmes d'enseignement des nations en voie d'emergence? Voici quelques possibilités. 1) Aller enseigner dans les instituts d'enseignement supérieur dans un de ces pays et apporter ainsi une contribution à leurs expériences et à leurs connaissances en méthodes d'enseignement. 2) Offrir par équipes de 2 ou 3 professeurs un programme de cours durant un semestre ou une période de l'année académique, à partir de l'assistance technique bilatérale. Par exemple, un programme de cours en administration scolaire, offert durant un été dans une des universités africaines, dans lequel un bon nombre de principaux d'école se seraient enregistrés d'avance. 3) Entretenir des relations avec une des universités en voie de développement et travailler en collaboration avec ses différents départements. 4) Faire l'échange de livres et de publications entre différentes facultés. 5) Envoyer aux Instituts d'enseignement supérieur du Tiers Monde des livres, des publications et, selon les moyens, certains matériels. 6) Développer chez les étudiants l'esprit de Coopération et les sensibiliser au travail outre-mer. Ce dernier point en particulier est l'une des responsabilités des sociétés d'éducation comparée et internationale.

Avant de conclure, il nous reste à ajouter qu'en ce qui concerne les effets de l'aide, seule une stabilité politique des pays en voie de développement peut permettre l'aide internationale d'être réellement efficace. La politique de répartition de l'aide announcée par le Canada, par exemple, donne la priorité à des pays moins développés dans lesquels le Canada a d'importants intérêts et qui se sont montrés capables de mobiliser et d'employer efficacement des ressources en vue de leur développement, ou qui ont nettement défini l'ordre des priorités des tâches à accomplir pour assurer la croissance de leur économie. Selon le Rapport de 1969 du Président du Comité d'Aide au Développement de l'O.C.D.E. en l'absence d'un centre de décision unique en matière d'aide, une étroite concertation entre les donneurs peut seule assurer une répartition plus rationnelle du total des apports nationaux dans l'ensemble du monde.[4]

À part le devoir de justice envers son prochain, il y a la responsabilité internationale. Espérons que la stabilité politique dans les pays en voie de développement d'un côté et l'accroissement de l'aide internationale et sa répartition plus efficace d'un autre côté donneront du ressort au développement des nouvelles nations.

---

4. O.C.D.E., Aide au Développement : Examen 1969, Rapport du Président du C.A.D. Paris, 1970.

Note biographique

Avigdor Farine (Ph.D., Université de Pittsburgh) est professeur agrégé, membre de la Faculté des Sciences de l'Education de l'Université de Montréal. A part sa contribution dans le domaine d'éducation, M. Farine fit un voyage d'études en Afrique francophone et publia des articles sur la situation éducative dans le Continent Noir. Il fut Chef de Section d'Administration Scolaire à l'Université de Montréal; il est actuellement membre du Conseil de la SCECI. M. Farine se spécialise en planification scolaire.

THE ROLE AND RATIONALE FOR EDUCATIONAL AID IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES - ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FACTORS

R.K.A. Gardiner, Executive Secretary
United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

The hopes entertained at the beginning of the first United Nations Development Decade in 1961 of accelerated economic development and the establishment of a base for self-sustained growth in the poorer regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America, through international co-operation for development have not been realized, and the results have been disappointing. Unless this generation succeeds in taking a long step towards banishing poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance, and enables governments to satisfy the revolution in expectations that has taken place, world peace and security is in jeopardy.

The setback is due in part to the fact that the volume of development assistance expected to be made available by the wealthier nations has not been forthcoming to the extent that this is necessary to accelerate the development process; and, in part to the composition of the assistance given and the manner in which it has been deployed. The United Nations had recommended the rate of transfer of resources from the rich to the poor countries at the minimum level of 1 per cent of the GNP of the former, annually, but this level has not been reached for the rich countries as a whole. Worse still, the rate of flow is even declining. The flow of external resources comprise private and public investment capital on commercial terms, and what is known as official development assistance on concessional terms, in the form of grants and loans on soft terms. The developing countries are heavily dependent on the adequate flow of the latter component to assist them in building up the infrastructure of their economy on which the investments required are very heavy and the returns long delayed, such as in education and training, health, housing, transport and communications, research, etc. What is causing grave anxiety and frustration in the capitals of the developing countries is that the rate of flow of official development assistance is actually declining. The paradox of ready availability of vast resources for military expenditure in the midst of the tremendous needs of humanity for elementary necessities of life is a sad reflection on our sense of values and priorities.

The crisis in the flow of development assistance led to the appointment by the World Bank in 1968 of a high-level commission of inquiry known as the Commission for International Development under the chairmanship of the distinguished Canadian, the Rt. Hon. Lester B. Pearson. The very opening sentence of their Report[1] echoes the earlier warning sounded by Gunnar Myrdal, many years ago when very few men had the breadth of understanding to view this world as a "One World". I quote:

> "The widening gap between the developed and developing countries has become a central issue of our time" (p. 3)

And a few paragraphs below:

> "International development is a great challenge of our age. Our response to it will show whether we understand the implications of inter-dependence or whether we prefer to delude ourselves that the poverty and deprivation of the great majority of mankind can be ignored without tragic consequences for all".

---

[1] Partners in Development: Report of the Commission on International Development (15 September 1968, Chairman: Lester B. Pearson). PRAEGER, N.Y. 1969. Henceforth, in this paper, this will be referred to as the Pearson Report.

These words raise grave misgivings of an insidious growth of apartheid on a global scale. The parallel drawn is not facetious for the end results are the same; it merits deep reflection, for the basic pattern of thinking in the relations between the developed and developing countries, as identified by the Pearson Commission, appears to be the same.

Preoccupation with the growing crisis in international development led another statesman, President Lyndon Johnson of the United States, to focus attention on the crisis in a sector that is our concern here today, namely education. He was instrumental in convening at Williamsburg, Virginia, USA in October 1967 the International Conference on the World Crisis in Education. The conference underscored the apprehensions of the President in the following words:

> "...there is indeed a crisis in education's ability to match performance with expectations. The crisis takes two forms. The first is the world-wide disparity between the hopes of individuals and needs of society, on the one hand, and, on the other, the capabilities of the educational system. The second is an even greater disparity between the developing countries, faced with the cruel restraints of grossly inadequate resources, and the developed countries, which are increasingly preoccupied with their own internal needs."[2]

This conference then went on to deplore the fact that at the very time when developing nations are most in need of it external financial aid showed signs of an eclipse.[3] It proposed the declaration of an International Education Year to focus the world's attention on the crisis in education and by a common effort to "mobilize energies and inspire world-wide initiative that would give this subject the priority it deserves".[4] The United Nations General Assembly, for its part, convinced of the crucial role of education and training in accelerating economic, social and political development in the poor regions of the world, has declared this year, in which the First World Congress of Comparative Education Societies is meeting, as International Education Year.

Declining development assistance will weaken and undermine the efforts to implement the fundamental objectives of the United Nations Charter, which is "to create conditions of stability and well-being and to ensure a minimum standard of living consistent with human dignity through economic and social progress and development".[5] The UN Preparatory Committee appointed for drafting the strategy of development for the Second United Nations Development Decade pinpoints the major problems of the developing countries as follows:

> "...the level of living of countless millions of people in the developing part of the world is still pitifully low. These people are often still undernourished, uneducated, unemployed, and wanting in many other basic amenities of life. While a part of the world lives in great comfort and even affluence, much of the larger part suffers from abject poverty, and in fact the disparity is continuing to widen. This lamentable situation has contributed to the aggravation of world tension." (para. 3).
>
> "...Youth everywhere is in ferment, and the 1970s must mark a step forward in securing the well-being and happiness not only of the present generation but also of the generations to come." (para. 4).
>
> "...development is the essential path to peace" (para. 5).
>
> "...The ultimate objective of development must be to bring about sustained improvements in the well-being of the individual and bestow benefits to all. If undue privileges, extremes of wealth and social injustices persist, then development fails in its essential purpose. This calls for a global development strategy based on joint and concentrated action by developing and developed countries in all spheres of economic and social life: in industry and agriculture, in trade and finance, in employment and education, in health and housing, in science and technology" (para. 6)

---

[2] Coombs, Philip, H.: The World Educational Crisis - A Systems Analysis, Oxford University Press, London, 1968, p. 175.

[3] Ibid, p. 182.

[4] Ibid, p. 183.

[5] Draft for An International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. Document prepared by the UN Preparatory Committee for the Second United Nations Development Decade: A/AC.141/L.25/Add.1, 26 May 1970.

The Pearson Report, too, identifies the same social and economic elements of poverty and underdevelopment, which constitute a syndrome, as it were. This Report identifies an important social psychological aspect of the situation to which due consideration should be given for it indicates at once the unusual and complex problems faced by governments in the developing countries. To quote:

> "The balance of the past has been upset in many ways - by new desires, reduced mortality rates, new technology - the material objectives find new expressions as they merge with old and varied cultures. One would not expect the ascendancy of new aspirations to be a smooth or silent process, and it has not been. In most countries development has resulted only through constant struggle between modernizing and traditional elements."[6]

To improve such conditions in which more than two-thirds of mankind lives the aforementioned UN Committee has stressed that international co-operation for development must be on a scale commensurate with that of the problem itself; that partial, sporadic and half-hearted gestures, however well-intentioned, will not suffice (para. 8). It recognized that primary responsibility for ensuring economic and social progress rests upon the developing countries themselves, but urged that "however great their individual efforts, in order to achieve the desired development goals as expeditiously as they must, they need to be assisted through sufficient financial resources and more favourable economic and commercial policies on the part of the developed countries". (paras. 9 and 10).

The grounds for concern expressed by these independent bodies would be better appreciated if, perhaps, a few aggregate figures are quoted. By 1960, almost $8 billion, or nearly 1 per cent of the GNP of the high-income, non-Communist nations was flowing into low-income nations; and, additional transfers were made from the Soviet Union and other centrally-planned economies.[7] After 1961, the total flow failed to grow as rapidly as the economies of the wealthy nations, though in fact, the absolute level did steadily increase until, by 1968, it had reached a total of $12.8 billion in public and private resources from the non-Communist countries alone.[7] The contribution of the United States, by far the largest supplier of aid and investment flows, had in the mid-1950s reached a level of 2 per cent of her GNP at the height of the Marshall Plan, but in 1960 the percentage was down to 0.75 and gradually slipped further to 0.65 in 1968 of the total flow of resources (though even in 1968 its share was almost half (49.6 per cent) of the total flow). France, the second largest supplier of resources to developing countries, still easily exceeds the 1 per cent GNP target, but her flows too, have steadily declined from 2.19 per cent of GNP in 1960 to 1.24 per cent in 1968 (her share of the total flow was 12.0 per cent in 1968). A few countries, however, increased their flow, like West Germany, for example, from 0.88 per cent of GNP in 1960 to 1.24 per cent in 1968 (which was 10.2 per cent of the total). For fifteen developed countries in the OECD group the overall average percentage of GNP flowing to the developing countries declined from 0.89 per cent in 1960 to 0.77 per cent in 1968.[8]

The particular aspect of the situation that has given rise to the greatest concern is the low-level of official development assistance in this total flow. Official development assistance on concessional terms is what is especially needed by the poor countries, and is what may be called "aid" proper, i.e. grants or loans on soft terms. The average flow of official development assistance was only 0.39 per cent of GNP in 1968, and the Pearson Commission recommended that it be raised to 0.70 per cent by 1975,[9] if the development targets of the Second Development Decade are to be achieved. The absolute level of official development assistance provided by the same fifteen developed countries in 1968 was estimated at $6,429 million; and, if the Pearson Commission recommendation of 0.70 per cent of GNP were to have been applied for this year the figure would have read $11,591 million; and would read for 1975 at $16,173 million.[10] On the average, the annual rate of official disbursement of assistance would have to be raised to 14.1 per cent to reach the Pearson Commission target level for 1975.[11]

---

[6] Op.Cit., page 233.

[7] Pearson Report, page 3.

[8] See Table 7-2, in the Pearson Report, on page 145, for similar figures on the fifteen countries.

[9] Ibid, p. 18.

[10] Ibid, Table 7-4, page 150.

[11] Ibid, Table 7-5, page 150.

At this point it would be reasonable to ask what the developing countries have done to help themselves, and what are the prospects for increasing self-help measures. I shall confine myself mainly to a brief outline of the situation in Africa, which would serve to illustrate the economic and social conditions which necessitate the continuance of development assistance.

Africa is a late starter in development. It is only recently that Africans have begun to regain control of events on their continent, and the political process is still not complete. Before 1950 only three countries were independent (UAR, Ethiopia and Liberia), and most attained their independence from colonial rule between 1955 and 1963. There are today 41 independent Black African states (excluding South Africa), with eleven more territories struggling towards the same goal. The preoccupation of the newly independent States during the first Development Decade was with keeping the State intact and viable against various internal divisive pressures, and so they concentrated on rapidly building up the administrative services of government, vacated by the outgoing expatriate personnel, in order to carry on with the day to day tasks of government. Considering that under colonial rule most Africans had not acquired first hand experience of managing the affairs of a modern state, the transition had taken place remarkably smoothly. The presently developed countries did not have to contend with such a situation when they began modernizing and industrializing their economies. During the Second Development Decade the African countries could be expected to give more attention to the specifics of economic and social development. If development assistance were to fall off at this stage it would, indeed, delay for decades their achievement of conditions for self-sustained growth. It is a point worth remembering that the governmental administrative structure and service which is presently serving the new States with reasonable efficiency, in the circumstances, has itself been made possible through timely official development assistance, especially in the form of technical assistance and intensive training in administration. There is undoubtedly a great deal more to be done in improving performance and in training additional types of high-level managerial and intermediate level personnel. The capacity of the African states to utilize more development capital, more efficiently, will need to be improved by training the appropriate kind of personnel, especially, in project identification and preparation; for undertaking negotiations with more sophisticated foreign investors; and, for co-ordinating foreign assistance with national and multi-national development plans.

Economically the African countries are amongst the poorest in the world as measured by GDP per head. Half of the independent African States are among those with the lowest GDP in the world. By another classificatory system into Least Developed Countries, it is worth noting that of the 21 LDC's in the world 19 are in Africa. In 1967, 86 per cent of the African population had an average annual GDP of less than $160 per head; and, more than half (55 per cent) of the population averaged less than $80 per head.[12] Only Libya, because of its oil income, averaged a GDP of $1,000 per head. These figures contrast sharply with those of the developed countries like the USA and USSR, and even the middle-level economically advanced countries whose average annual GDP is about $1,200 per head. The condition of the inhabitants is actually worse because of the inequalities of income distribution, especially as between the urban and rural population, and as between those in wage-employment and those in subsistence farming.

When one looks at the rate of growth of the GDP per head, one is staggered by the time it would take Africa to reach parity with the developed countries. Between 1960 and 1967, the GDP per head grew by less than 2 per cent per annum (which is less than the 2.5 per cent average rate of population increase) in 22 countries; and, more than 3 per cent in eighteen countries. In 19 countries, containing 37 per cent of the population the GDP growth rate per head was actually less than 1 per cent.[13] For developing Africa as a whole the rate of growth of GDP per head actually slipped from 2.2 per cent per annum (1960-1965) to only 0.5 per cent (1965-1968).[14] At these rates of growth one estimate is that it would take 200 years or so to reach the present levels of the industrialized states, but by then the latter States would have progressed further and the gap would have increased.

There are many economic and social factors which interact and cumulatively tend to slow down the rate of economic growth, and perpetuate the poverty and backwardness of the African region. The major obstacles to rapid development have been identified as follows:[15]

---

[12] Ibid, page 262.

[13] Ibid, page 266.

[14] Economic Conditions in Africa in Recent Years. A summary prepared for the 49th Session of ECOSOC by the Economic Commission for Africa. Mimeo - M.70-985, para. 7.

(i) the general lack of infrastructure (such as, transport and communications, educational and training facilities, housing, health services, institutions for research and development, financial institutions, etc.);

(ii) the predominance of agricultural activity at a low level of productivity (more than three-quarters of the population lives in the rural areas and is engaged on subsistence farming);

(iii) general absence of industrial activity;

(iv) adult illiteracy of about 80 per cent;

(v) unemployment and underutilization of human resources whilst at the same time there is a critical shortage of trained manpower;

(vi) small size of local markets (a legacy from the colonial past due to the division of Africa into many small States);

(vii) excessive dependence upon commodity exports whose prices fluctuate on the world market and cause uncertainty of income;

(viii) scarcity of capital and low level of domestic savings due to low level of personal incomes (the wage sector offers employment to less than one-fifth of the active labour force);

(ix) inadequate knowledge of physical resources, which makes rational planning a very difficult exercise;

(x) general absence of organized development planning and programming, resulting in ad hoc approach to development, which in turn tends to slow down economic growth;

(xi) a rapidly expanding population.

However, Africa does not yet have a population problem of the dimensions obtaining in Asia. Its present population is estimated at 330 to 350 million, but by the end of the century this figure may rise to more than double that (770 to 860 million), which is more than twice the rate of growth in developed countries. It is the age composition of the population which is the most disturbing feature: more than two-fifths (43 per cent) of the population is under fifteen years of age, compared with a world average of 36 per cent. The relative "youthfulness" of the population imposes, in the short term, heavy burdens on a low-income country, for this is a large dependent group requiring various economically non-productive services in the way of increasing educational, health and recreational services, besides investment for a high rate of employment creation in anticipation of their entry into the labour market. The developed countries have a more favourable age structure in this regard. Family planning is the eventual balancing measure and many African States have adopted national family planning programmes (e.g. Botswana, Kenya, Ghana, Mauritius, Morocco, Tunisia, the UAR), but this is a long term measure and the economic impact of the population pressure is with Governments today.

The slow growth of the economy has meant a low rate of employment creation, and a steady rise in the volume of unemployment and under-employment, especially in the rural sector. A serious problem confronting African governments is the growing army of education primary school-leavers for whom there are just not enough jobs, and conditions in the rural areas are not at all attractive to keep most of them there.

Amongst the most serious onerous burdens of some of these States is debt servicing, that is, the payment of interest, and repayment of capital borrowed from abroad, often on hard terms. In some instances, as much as half the export earnings are swallowed in debt servicing, and, so these countries, despite their best efforts, appear to stand still.

---

15. See also R.K.A. Gardiner: (i) Poverty, Racism and Human Rights. Address to the World Council of Churches Consultation on Christian Concern for Peace (3-9 April, 1970, Baden, Austria.) Mimeo-M70-465; (ii) Developing Africa: Economic Aspects, Trends and Perspectives. Paper presented to the Conference on "Africa in World Affairs: the next thirty years" (December 1969, Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda) Mimeo-M69-3062.

The Pearson Commission reports on a significant, if not impressive, record of development achievements in the face of such handicaps. Contrary to widespread belief, the bulk of the investment capital in developing countries is derived from domestic savings. In the 1960s domestic savings accounted for 85 per cent of total investment. Africa raised savings to the extent of an annual average of 13.1 per cent of GNP (1960-1967), and Gross Investment on the average was 16.7 per cent of GNP. During the same period average rate of savings was 21.7 per cent of GNP, and Gross Investment 21.2 per cent, for the fifteen developed countries in the OECD group.[16] The average annual rate of growth in agricultural production for the developing countries was 2.1 per cent (1960-66) (the rate in Africa at 1.4 per cent was very much below the average), as against 1.8 per cent for the industrialized countries.[17] The "green" revolution has made a remarkable change in the rate and volume of food production in parts of Asia and Latin America. Manufacturing output has been growing at the average annual rate of 7.3 per cent for all developing countries (Africa, 6.0 per cent), against 5.6 per cent for the industrialized countries.[18] Electric energy production averaged an annual rate of growth of 10.5 per cent (1948-1967) in the developing countries (Africa, 11.5 per cent), against 7.7 per cent of the industrialized countries.[19] These sectoral rates of growth are indicative of the efforts being made by Africa and the other developing countries to accelerate their development, though the performances of some individual countries fall below the average. Measured against the total income of the developing countries, the external resources flowing into them have been a small fraction, amounting to about 2 per cent.[20] However, even this fraction has made a very significant contribution to the development noted above, for in some countries it amounted to 10 per cent of their investment, and 20-30 per cent of imports. Generally, the record of performance of the developing countries today are much better than that of the presently advanced countries when they were at the same stage of development.

Yet in spite of development assistance and their own efforts, the developing countries lag very much behind the developed countries. A factor that tends to be overlooked, when comparisons are made, is that in the contemporary world the late comer to development has new problems to face and greater obstacles to overcome than the presently advanced countries had to, at similar stages of development. To take the population 'explosion', for example: this is really the outcome of decreased mortality rates effected through improved health and educational services, which are better today than in the early years of the Industrial Revolution in Europe, and, consequently, the old balance has been upset. New corrective measures like family planning would have to be applied on a wide scale, but the world does not have the experience of applying such measures at the pre-industrial stage of development.

To take another example. The existence of industrially advanced countries with greater productive capacity, tightly organized and preserved markets, and a commitment to economic nationalism in their policies has made it extremely difficult for a new comer on the scene to break through the trade barriers or compete successfully. International trade in the past, when the presently developed countries had begun their modernization and industrialization process, was much more liberalized. On the other hand, the export goods of the mass production economies are more successful in penetrating the markets of the developing countries and change the pattern of consumption, resulting in serious balance of payments problems today. In addition labour standards are higher and trade unions stronger.

Again, take industrial technology. The technology available today is capital-intensive and labour-saving, developed to suit the conditions of the industrially advanced countries. But the developing countries, with their labour surplus and scarcity of capital need labour-intensive and capital-saving technology. The injudicious import and use of the more sophisticated and expensive technology, mainly by foreign investors, has only served to compound the problems of the developing countries.

To take yet one more example. When industrialization in Europe got under way money was cheaper and was borrowed at fixed interest rates of 5 to 6 per cent, and default was not uncommon. Now almost all long-term private capital is very much dearer, taking the form of direct equity at 15 to 25 per cent pre-local tax, and 10 to 15 per cent post-local tax; and default on loans, whether private or official, is hardly ever allowed to occur. Furthermore, remittances of profits, interest and dividends aggravate the balance of payments problems of

---

[16] Ibid, Table 2-2, page 31.

[17] Ibid, Table 2-3, page 32.

[18] Ibid, Table 2-6, page 36.

[19] Ibid, Table 2-8, page 39.

[20] Ibid, page 48.

African countries, partly because of their height and partly because of inadequate reinvestment.[21]

From this brief account of the serious impediments to the accelerated development of Africa and the other developing regions, it is evident how important even marginal assistance could be. Unless external resources continue to flow at the rate of, at least, 1 per cent of the GNP of the industrially-advanced and richer countries the future is bleak for them; and the 6 per cent per annum overall growth rate recommended for the 1970s is not likely to be reached. The reasons for the stagnation in development assistance have been reported upon by the Pearson Commission, and, it is not necessary to detail them again, except to mention some, as we are concerned with aid at this Congress. The Commission reported that in the United States, and in some other donor countries they had encountered "a spirit of disenchantment in aid giving and that often these attitudes have been due to misconceptions and unrealistic expectations of 'instant development'", when it should have been known that development was a long-term process.[22] They also report on strong criticism on waste in the use of aid in the developing countries, and complaints that aid activities lead to entanglement in political conflict and military hostilities in which recipient countries have been engaged.[23] The Report, however, places much responsibility for this state of affairs on the donor countries themselves and was critical of their underlying motivation and aid policies. A good deal of bilateral aid was dispensed to gain political favours, strategic advantages or to promote exports from the donor; and, much foreign assistance went to the maintenance of large armed forces. In none of these cases, was the promotion of long-term development a dominant objective of the assistance given.[23] Some falling off in the rate of flow of development assistance was, however, due to priority given to domestic needs of the donor countries. Equally there have been misconceptions in the developing countries, who also tended to expect too much too soon from aid which was only a supplement to the national development effort.[24]

In Africa, today, it is realized that development must be effected by Africans themselves, and that no foreign assistance can be a substitute for determined, self-reliant effort. However, they do need marginal assistance on reasonable terms -- not charity -- from the international community of which they are a part, so that the time span of development may be shortened for them. There is ample historical evidence that external development assistance, judiciously deployed and efficiently used, can make a significant impact on development, as for example, in Taiwan, the Philippines, Korea, Pakistan, Greece and Israel.[25] The need for assistance is not the unique experience of developing countries. It was Marshall Aid which put war devastated Europe on its feet.

The Pearson Commission cautions against a narrow, quantitative, financial evaluation of the contribution of aid to the process of development. Since the size of official development assistance is marginal to the country's own volume of investment in development, its principal role has been that of a catalyst. For example, in Africa there are unmined minerals, abundance of unskilled labour, and untapped energy sources, but the Africans themselves, at this stage, are often not in a position to mobilize their resources, combine and transform them into the goods and services of value to themselves and which have a demand on the world market. The marginal capital and technical assistance from external sources go a long way towards transforming potential to actuality.[26]

The most lasting and strategic contribution that foreign development assistance could make to African economic, social and political development is in the sphere of education and training. It is only through the development of human knowledge, skills and attitudes that people are enabled to become self-reliant in managing their affairs and to attain higher levels of living. Convinced of the leverage that education and training have exerted in the modernization of agriculture and industrialization, African Governments invest a considerable proportion of their resources in this sector. The percentage of national income spent on education ranged in 1965 from 1.6 per cent to 8.1 per cent, the average being 4.2 per cent.[27] These

---

21. These and other arguments have been more fully developed in an unpublished study, "Aid to Africa" by Paul Streeten for the Economic Commission for Africa, Feb. 1970.

22. Pearson Report, page 4.

23. *Ibid*, page 4.

24. *Ibid*, pages 5-6.

25. (i) Pearson Report, pages 48-52. (ii) Economist, March 11, 1967, page 908. (iii) R.K.A. Gardiner, International Economic Development: The Significance of Aid to Africa. Address to the International Press Institute, 3 June, 1968. Nairobi.

26. See also Pearson Report, p. 50.

27. UNESCO-OAU/CESTA/Ref.1. Paper submitted to UNESCO/OAU Conference on Education and Scientific and Technical Training in Relation to Development in Africa (Nairobi, 1968).

figures compare favourably with those of developed countries.[28] Yet in spite of these efforts the school age population is increasing owing to population growth, and Africa is the only developing region where more than half the children of school-age do not attend school. School leavers (with a general education) are increasing faster than jobs, whilst at the same time there is a serious shortage of middle-level skills, especially technical and sub-professional. Yet the enrolment in secondary vocational training is barely 10 per cent of the total secondary enrolment, indicating the dysfunctional features in the system. The educational system is unable to hold its pupils long enough for them to attain even literacy for about half drop out by the end of the second grade, and so go to add to the backlog of 80 per cent adult illiteracy. In the second and third level education, enrolment ratios in Africa are low compared with other developing regions,[29] reflecting Africa's economic situation.

African countries are approaching the budgetary ceiling to educational expansion and attention must be directed to the quality of education, especially in respect of the relevance of structure and content for meeting development needs and priorities; and, in respect of the cost effectiveness of the system. In order to increase productivity in the short run, functional literacy for the actively employed adult population and vocational training for upgrading skills would seem to demand higher priority than the expansion of primary education, but this would pose a political dilemma. Educational innovations are necessary to overcome the poor qualifications, as well as the shortage of teachers. The school-leavers are a problem, and special forms of vocational training are required to fit them for the available kinds of work, which are mainly in the rural areas. These are tasks which require the continuance of external development assistance at an enhanced level. Even though almost 50 per cent of official development assistance flows towards education and training, in view of the low level (0.39 per cent) of official development assistance for all purposes, the volume available to education and training is inadequate in relation to the needs and problems in this crucial sector of development. The situation calls for a careful study of needs and priorities in education in relation to the pressing demands for various kinds of skills and for reducing unemployment. It is essential that the marginal assistance available from external sources should be utilized to produce the maximum impact on the educational system.[30] It is, I believe, the aim of this Congress to undertake a study of this kind.

The poverty of the developing countries is a challenge not only to the conscience but also to the good sense of the international community to increase the flow of development assistance, especially to education and training in Africa. In answer to the question, Why aid? I cannot do better than conclude with the most cogent argument employed by the Pearson Commission:

> "People today are increasingly aware of a world, as well as a national community... This concept of world community is itself a major reason for international co-operation for development. It is an assertion of faith in the future, as well as of the conviction of the need to act now."[31]

---

28. Coombs, Philip H.: op.cit., Appendix 18, page 201.

29. Enrolment as percentage of total enrolment in 1966/67:

	Africa	Asia	Latin America
	%	%	%
Second-level	12.6	20.3	16.6
Third-level	1.1	2.7	2.2

Source: OECD Development Assistance Committee. Note by Secretariat. DAC(69)18.

30. For a seminal study in this area see: Ladislav CERYCH: Problems of Aid to Education in Developing Countries. Praeger, New York, 1965. The OECD Development Assistance Committee undertook a more recent study in 1969 on educational assistance to Africa.

31. Pearson Report, page 10.

THE ROLE AND RATIONALE FOR AID IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES - BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL PROGRAMMES

by

J.E. Jayasuriya, Professor of Education and Head of the Department of Education,
University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, Ceylon

The two decades after the Second World War have witnessed among several developed nations an involvement, of unprecedented magnitude, in international educational activities undertaken basically to promote education and development in the less fortunate countries of the world. One may go so far as to say that the volume of the international educational activities undertaken during this short period, whether on a multilateral basis or on a bilateral basis, exceeds what has gone before in the many hundreds of years of the recorded history of man. And yet, it is a sombre reality that the situation in very nearly all under-developed countries, be they in Asia, Africa or South America, is a relatively bleak one, with the gap between the developed countries and the under-developed countries widening rather than narrowing. The thought that twenty years is but a brief hour in the span of time could, of course, encourage complacence and hold out hope, but for the fact that reflection on the present tends to show that by and large the accumulation of problems seems to outdistance the attempts at their solution, and set people's minds in a state of turmoil in which the existing structures of society may face disintegration or destruction with no effective substitutes to take their place. It is in a context such as this that the future of educational aid has to be considered.

In discussing the issue of educational aid to developing countries through bilateral or multilateral programmes, it is necessary to interpret the phrase 'educational aid' sufficiently broadly so as to include the educational component of any kind of aid given for the purpose of assisting in the tasks of development. In other words, even if the primary focus of an aid program is developmental in a broad sense rather than narrowly educational, any educational component in the programme should be regarded as educational aid. Conceived in this manner, certain elements in economic aid or agricultural aid, for example, could rightly be regarded as educational aid, and come within the purview of our discussion. Basically, it is possible to distinguish between two categories of aid, namely one involving material resources and the other involving human resources. While both categories of aid are important, it is submitted that the contribution of each to development depends very largely on the extent to which an integrated relationship exists between the two.

The phenomenon of under-development is characterised by a totality of factors, prominent among which are the scarcity or under-use of material resources, the lack of an essential expertise among human resources, the absence of an achievement oriented attitudinal background in the mass of people, and the existence of social and institutional factors that are a drag on development. These factors operate, not in isolation but in dynamic interrelationship with one another, and the manipulation of any one of them singly is unlikely to give any kind of meaningful impetus to the process of development. It is precisely on this issue that programmes of aid seem to have floundered most and not achieved the goals that were envisaged. Concepts of aid are conditioned by our knowledge of the past, and yet the past may be a totally inadequate guide for the present, much less for the future. The social structures and processes that have operated for two or three hundred years to bring many nations to their present stages of development (seventy to eighty years perhaps in the case of Japan) were all right for that slow pace of development, but what evidence do we have of their capacity to achieve development in a dozen or fewer years?

It is important to recognise that under-development is complex in its causation, and that little is known about the strategy or strategies that would promote development within a short period of time. It is all too easy to pursue some single course of action that suggests itself readily and to hope for a solution through this means. Consider an issue such as the increased use of fertilizer to improve agricultural productivity. A number of related issues arise. Soil surveys have to be carried out to find the strengths and the deficiencies of the existing soils. If fertilizer has to be imported, payments in foreign exchange become necessary. How can the foreign exchange be found? Cannot the fertilizer be manufactured locally? What raw materials and machinery are required and how may they be obtained? What training of personnel would be required? What waste of fertilizer is likely to arise from dissolution and loss by rain? Is the use of fertilizer economical in relation to the expenditure involved? How can the use of fertilizer be brought to the notice of farmers? How can they find the money to buy the fertilizer? Can the fertilizer be made available from storehouses that are easily accessible? What problems of storage and transport have to be faced? These are some of the many issues that would arise. Without a total analysis of all the problems involved, it would be futile from a developmental point of view to take a few unconnected steps, such as utilising an aid programme to send one person to Japan to see how the farmers there use fertilizer, and another person to the United States or Canada to learn how fertilizer is manufactured. To be sure, such visits would no doubt contribute to the personal development and the intellectual enrichment of the persons concerned, but their contribution to what is essentially a problem of national development is at best strictly limited. On the other hand, if such visits had their place in a total plan of action that had been worked out to take account of the many-faceted problems involved in encouraging the use of fertilizer among traditional farmers, then tangible results would follow from the visits. An aid component that does not form an essential element in a total plan is a boon of doubtful value to the receiver, and not worth the cost it entails to the donor.

While stressing the importance of taking account of the totality of the issues surrounding a problem, it is also necessary to emphasize that in view of the fact that our knowledge of the inter-relationships of the many variables involved is at best a partial one especially in the context of developing societies, the plan of action decided upon by us may not achieve the objectives we have in mind. This raises the need for a healthy modesty in what we attempt and the importance of desisting from global prescriptions. The prime requirement at this juncture of the developmental process in relation to most undeveloped countries of the world is an atmosphere of experimentation with a number of tentative measures being tried out rather than with just one solution offered with an assurance of certainty. Such experimentation should be encouraged not only as between different countries but, equally importantly, within each country, on a district, provincial or regional basis, so that from the comparative analyses of the results of several attempted solutions there could emerge a reasonably clear picture of the direction in which a real solution would lie. The globe trotting expert with a ready-made solution is indeed an anachronism and should be recognized as such. Whatever the problem at issue, within the same country, there could well be several aid projects all attacking the same problem in different parts of the country, using the respective strengths and insights of the programmes and the personnel involved. Each of the projects should be based on a comprehensive study of the factors associated with a problem, and the tentative solution suggested by each study should be tried out within a strictly limited area. Such an approach should prove a wholesome corrective to the all too common situation in which some recommended measure is tried out on a world-wide basis and comes out a flop, with misunderstandings and regrets that in fact disturb donor-donee relationships. In relation to the teaching of English in Ceylon, a Royal Commission on education recommended that the UNESCO expert in the country should carry out a pilot project. It said, "From such a pilot project might come more educational wisdom than from island-wide programmes", but the idea of a pilot project did not appeal to the expert. He, and many other experts after him, were interested only in island-wide programmes, and the state of English teaching in Ceylon is in as much confusion in 1970 as it was in 1962 when the Commission uttered its words of wisdom which, however, were ignored.

Apart from educational aid which forms a component part of a total programme of action directed towards the solution of some problem that confronts a developing country, another sector of aid that commends itself is that of institutional development. It is necessary in the first place to identify institutions that play, or should play, a key role in the country from the point of view of the development of the country. In the second place, it is necessary to ensure that the institutions concerned operate within a framework that endows them with the facilities and the freedom to direct their attention to problems of development untramelled by unnecessary controls exercised by persons located outside them. Innovative and leadership skills cannot develop except in an environment that gives them full scope for their effective functioning through the provision and encouragement of opportunities for experimentation and research, coupled with mechanisms of feedback that would ensure a continuing interaction between thought and action and the consequences that flow out of them. Subject to the fulfilment of these conditions, a long term programme of institutional development, especially with a view to enhancing the contribution of the peronnel in them to the solution of the tasks of national development, should be a worthwhile undertaking. Processes and techniques of evaluation should be built into the entire programme to ensure feedback that is both meaningful and effective.

With the foregoing perspective for the role and rationale of aid, we may now turn our attention to the relative advantages and disadvantages of bilateral and multilateral programmes of aid. It is necessary to recognise that the motivations underlying aid could be multiple, and vary from the most altruistic to the blatantly selfish. It would, however, be an unrewarding exercise to attempt to categorise donors on this basis. Nor, indeed, is multilateral aid a guarantee of altruism, or bilateral aid always tainted with selfishness. Multilateral aid is itself derived from a contributor pool, with some contributors playing a dominant role and the others a relatively minor role. The motivations, whether altruistic or selfish, of the dominant contributors are no doubt reflected in multilateral aid programmes as well. In this sense, the facile generalisation that multilateral aid is safer and more altruistic than bilateral aid does not bear scrutiny. It is submitted that it is a vain exercise to probe the motivations underlying aid and to use them as a criterion for preferring a particular kind of aid.

In so far as the ideological basis underlying aid is concerned, it is quite conceivable that in a bilateral programme the ideological basis would have a high degree of consistency or coherence in as much as the controllers of the programme would subscribe to the national philosophy of the donor country to the extent that the country had such a philosophy, whether explicitly stated or implicitly understood. Programme objectives may in fact stand out in sharp focus as a result of this consistency or coherence. This would all be to the good, provided that the aid receiving country concerned is serviced by several such bilateral programmes emanating from various sources and is therefore in a position to see how the different philosophies underlying the programmes work out when translated into action in the special context of the receiving country. Should it turn out, however, that there is just one bilateral programme operating within a country and that this programme is strongly coloured by the national philosophy of the donor country, then conceivably the receiving country would be subject to its influence without the advantage of being able to assess its impact in comparison with other philosophies of action. As contrasted with bilateral programmes, the ideological basis underlying a multilateral programme is likely to be a diffuse one representing the largest common measure of agreement among nations or persons with diverse philosophies. Often the give and take of compromise is such that the attitudes of the parties are characterized by a lack of commitment which militates against success. The involvement of countries in bilateral programmes tends on the whole to be of a more vigorous quality than their involvement in multilateral programmes.

From the point of view of the funding of programmes, on theoretical grounds one may expect multilateral programmes to have much larger resources of finance than bilateral programmes, and yet in actual practice the reverse may be the case. A rich country that is deeply committed to a bilateral programme may be willing single handed to invest on the programme substantially larger funds than what would be contributed to a multilateral programme by a number of countries participating in it with average involvement.

The internal political situation of many developing countries is characterised by a fierce struggle for power by competing political parties. Any argument is good enough for use against political opponents, and it is often alleged that one political party or another is in the pay of some foreign country or agency. The political party that happens to be in power at a particular point of time has especially to guard itself against the accusation that it has mortgaged the future of the country in order to obtain aid. In this context, aid received through bilateral programmes can often be misunderstood and misinterpreted while aid received through multilateral programmes is generally not suspect, especially if the two power blocs of the world are both represented in the consortium handling the multilateral programme.

From the standpoint of their functional effectiveness for performing the tasks outlined in this paper, there is no special reason for preferring either multilateral aid or bilateral aid as both are quite viable instruments, if they are properly handled. One caution that needs emphasis is that hasty planning of both kinds of aid leads to waste and frustration, and that if the impact of aid is to be maximised the planning process should be developed to a high standard of thoroughness. A second caution that needs emphasis is that in as much as the road to development is beset with numerous problems and uncertainties for which well tried solutions are not available, a spirit of experimentation, that necessarily calls for a variety of approaches through a variety of small projects, bilateral or multilateral, in several locations in each country, must pervade all our efforts, and that the guiding light in all aid projects should be suspended judgment and humility rather than an over confident attitude on the part of the developed world.

THE ROLE AND RATIONALE FOR EDUCATIONAL AID IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO EAST AFRICA

by

W. Senteza Kajubi
Makerere University - Kampala, Uganda

The Situation

> "When over half the nation is illiterate", wrote the Uganda Education Commission of 1962, "and the people clamour for education, when teachers are in short supply and inadequately trained, when government and industry demand trained recruits, when unemployment is widespread and increasing, when the nation is poor - what policy should the government pursue?"[1]

This situation is true not only of East Africa, but of most of the developing countries. In fact in that question lies the dilemma of the developing countries and of the world's major crisis in education.

There is, on the one hand, an insatiable and increasing demand for more and better education and the sadly inadequate and seemingly diminishing resources on the other. While there is a critical shortage of high-level manpower and of technically competent personnel of all types on the one hand, there is on the other a frightening flood of primary school leavers for whom opportunities are not available either for further education or for employment in the urban and rural sectors of the economy. It is paradoxical that in these countries where there is so much which needs to be done, there is so little to do for a living and unemployment is rampant and is on the increase. There are far too few teachers, too few schools, too few technically competent personnel to enable the developing countries to move forward at the rate they would desire.

Faced with these dilemmas, East African countries, indeed all developing countries, regard themselves to be in a war situation against poverty, ignorance and disease. There is everywhere a growing social demand for a better life, and an almost religious faith in the power of formal education as the key to the aspirations of the masses.

All over Africa, as Helen Rowan has observed, education is at the same time the greatest hope and one of the greatest problems.[2] There is no other aspect of nation building which is receiving so much attention in developing countries as education. For instance, the governments of East African countries - Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda - devote considerable proportions - about 25 to 30 per cent of their annual budgets - on education. In addition, the parents spend very high proportions of their meagre incomes on school fees, and build numerous "harambee" or village self-help schools for the education of their children, and the pupils walk long distances from their homes to school and spend many a meal-less midday meal time, and willingly cram voluminous chalkboard notes and the contents of partially understood foreign textbooks in order to go over the hurdles of external examinations. Both the children and their parents look at formal school education as the chief, if not the only means of, emancipating themselves from the drudgery of the subsistence production and of breaking the vicious circle created by ignorance, poverty and disease. The importance of education as a ladder of social ascent and economic change is almost everywhere taken for granted.

Yet, in spite of this popular zeal for and public commitment to education, less than half of the children of primary school age in East Africa receive any formal schooling. Of those who reach the top of the seven year primary school, only about 10 per cent can find places in the secondary level institutions and these account for only 2 to 3 per cent of the children in the secondary school age group. In Kenya for example, of the 150,000 children who complete the primary School annually, about 15,000 find places in publicly supported secondary schools. In Uganda out of 70,000 primary school leavers, only about 8,000 find openings in secondary level institutions, including teachers' colleges.

Despite high and rising shares of the G.N.P. devoted to education in developing countries, the index of opportunity, i.e. the number of children who can be accommodated out of every 100 seeking formal school education, is stagnant and in many cases, declining. The populations of these countries are growing at very fast rates. The relatively larger numbers of children in the population are not only unproductive, but also demand a disproportionately larger share of the resources available for education and other social services. The gap between educational supply and demand is not only large, but is widening, as is that between the poverty of the developing world and affluence of the developed countries. Philip Coombs has rightly said that the school systems of developing countries, like Alice in Wonderland, will have to run as fast as possible in order to stay in one place, i.e. to maintain the present participation ratios of about 50 per cent or less at the elementary school level.[2a]

---

[1] Uganda Government: Report of the Uganda Education Commission 1962. Entebbe: Government Printer, p. 78.

[2] Carnegie Quarterly: Carnegie Corportion of New York, Vol. XVII No. 3, Summer 1969, p. 1.

TABLE 1

Percentage Distribution of the African Populations of Tanganyika, Uganda, Kenya, England and Wales and Sweden by Age Group in Census Years

		Under 1	1-5	6-15	16-45	46+	Total
Tanganyika	1948	3.6	15.2	23.4	47.8	10.0	100
	1957	3.9	17.3	22.7	44.2	11.9	100
Uganda	1948	2.8	14.3	23.8	47.5	11.6	100
	1959	3.8	16.6	22.8	44.0	12.8	100
Kenya	1948	4.5	19.0	24.6	43.2	8.7	100
England & Wales	1951	1.5	8.5	13.4	42.9	33.7	100
Sweden	1950	1.6	8.9	14.1	43.4	32.0	100

Source: Based on Bell, Philip: African Economic Problems, Vol. II, Book I, Tables 6 and 7, pp. 112-113.

A critical limitation to the educational programmes of the developing countries is that imposed by the shortage of secondary school teachers and the low academic level of the primary school teachers. For example, 40 per cent of the teachers in the primary schools of Uganda had only six years of elementary education themselves, plus two years of professional training. About 30 per cent of the primary teachers of Kenya had also only primary education and no professional training. The result is that the entire education systems of these countries are based on flimsy foundations. Teaching methods are often formal, consisting of drill on the part of the teachers, and of learning by rote on the part of pupils.

There is a crippling shortage of local secondary school teachers, with the result that the secondary schools are staffed mostly by non-nationals. For instance, in the Ivory Coast, 90 per cent of the secondary school teachers in 1969 were from abroad,[3] and out of 2,715 teachers staffing the secondary schools of the Republic of Kenya in the same year, 1,853 or 70 per cent, were expatriates.[4]

There is at the same time an acute shortage of trained educational administrators, research workers and curriculum developers. The result is that school curricula are often foreign and unrelated to the social and economic needs of developing countries. One could go on enumerating more bottlenecks although, needless to say, not all these problems apply equally to all developing countries.

The Role of Educational Aid

The role of foreign aid as a means of assisting the developing countries to close the gap between their educational supply and demand raises many questions and many problems.

Most developing countries have been under colonial rule and foreign domination, oppression and exploitation for a long time, and have just won their political independence. Naturally, these countries are anxious to prove that they are really independent both politically and economically.[4a] Is foreign aid compatible with the national pride of these new nations? Can donor countries or agencies agree to pay the piper without insisting on calling the tune? In other words, is there any foreign aid without political commitments? The governments of the developing countries thus find themselves torn between the need to be self-reliant and to guard against any neocolonialist overtures on the part of donor nations, on the one hand, and on the other hand the realisation that the resources at their disposal are inadequate to satisfy the aspirations of their people.

[2a] Coombs, Philip H., The World Education Crisis - A Systems Analysis. London: O.U.P., 1968, pp. 56-57.

[3] Toureh Yahaya: in Frank Klassen (Ed): Priorities for the Preparation of Secondary School Teachers in Middle Africa: International Council on Education for Teaching 1969, p. 39.

[4] F.C.A. Cammearts: "Priorities for the Preparation of Secondary Teachers in Kenya", East Africa Journal, November 1969, p. 5.

However, if it is agreed that external assistance is inevitable, can such aid be available in sufficient quantity and on such terms, as to have an appreciable impact on the educational development of those countries which need and want it? Although many of the wealthier countries are coming forward with aid programmes, the funds available are limited and must be shared by many developing countries and areas. In what kind of areas and in what form is such aid likely to pay off the greatest dividends to the recipient countries and to international community? In other words, what kind of aid makes most sense, and is most likely to have the greatest multiplier effect on the resources of the recipient countries?

Developing countries are at different stages of underdevelopment, and each country has its peculiar social needs and political patterns. It is not possible, therefore, to give any general formulae to the above questions, which will apply equally to all, not even to most developing countries. Political and other considerations are also involved.

The purpose of this paper is to outline a few areas in which it is thought, aid to Africa might have the greatest impact on educational development. Special reference is made to East Africa, with which the writer is most familiar.

Need for Educational Aid

Development is an international problem. Self-reliance is a useful concept, but no country, let alone a developing country, can solve all its problems when left to itself. Just as individuals are not born equal in every respect, so are nations, and regions within nations - some have abundant resources, while others are poor. The gap between the poor and the more affluent countries of the world could never be lessened let alone closed, if only country by country approaches were to be relied upon. The continued flow of capital, technical skills and ideas between nations is a sine qua non for development. As Philip Coombs has submitted, "educational assistance programs, whatever future labels they may wear, must become an accepted fact of life for at least the balance of this century. And they must acquire much higher dimensions - of size, quality, creativity and sophistication - than anything seen to date."[5]

Strategies and Priorities

Education is desired for its own intrinsic value as one of the fundamental human rights. Individuals desire it for themselves and for their children as something which is good in itself, regardless of the needs of the community. The governments of developing countries are under great pressure to provide primary education for all the children, to expand facilities for secondary and vocational education, and to create employment opportunities to absorb the school leavers.

But when needs are limitless, and the resources are severely limited as they are in developing countries, alternative ways of using the scarce resources must be weighed very carefully in order to ensure that the best and not merely good use is made of them.

How can meagre resources then tackle baffling problems and make a difference?

Priorities must be identified, and targets should be set to which both national and external aid resources can be directed and expected to have an impact. Described here below are four such broad areas.

1. Expansion of High School Education

Today education is seen by planners not only as an end in itself but also as a means of economic and social development. It is regarded as a capital asset and as an instrument for production. Most developing countries have development plans of which educational development is an integral part, and attempts are made to invest the available resources into those areas which are likely to have the greatest impact on development.

[4a] See the Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance. Dar-es-Salaam, by the Publicity Section of TANU.

[5] Philip H. Coombs: The World Educational Crisis - A System Analysis. New York: O.U.P., 1968, p. 155.

The production of trained manpower has been for some years the main strategy of economists and educational planners in developing countries. High-level and middle-level manpower is recognised as a necessity condition for economic and social development, and it is regarded also as a crucial factor in establishing and maintaining effective political institutions, and sound systems of government.

Emphasis, therefore, has been placed on those aspects of educational development which are calculated to accelerate the production of trained manpower. The meeting of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, which was held in Addis Ababa in May 1961, established the expansion of high school education as one of the top priorities for all countries of Africa. The expansion of high school education is important because plans for economic and social development depend upon high school graduates for -

1. an adequate supply of middle-level workers such as technicians, book-keepers, nurses, etc.
2. recruits to be trained as teachers in the primary schools, and
3. an adequate supply for students for universities and other institutions of higher learning.

In view of these considerations, much of the international educational aid such as that by the World Bank, IDA, USAID, etc. has been rightly directed to the expansion and improvement of secondary education.

2. Teacher Education

As we have already pointed out a major bottleneck is the limitation imposed by the quality and quantity of teachers. The key to the expansion and improvement of primary and secondary education, it would appear, lies with the expansion and improvement of teacher education in the new nations. There is need for programmes aimed at ensuring the continued supply of teachers, especially secondary and university teachers from foreign sources,[6] but these cannot be relied upon on a long-term basis. First of all foreign teachers are expensive. They go on long overseas leave, making it necessary to provide for a higher teacher-student ratio than would be needed, if nationals were employed, and above all there is need for local teachers who understand and are committed to the cultures, and national aspirations of their countries. It is clear, therefore, that the provision, expansion, and improvement of the facilities for the training of new teachers and up-grading of existing teachers rank very high in the educational needs of developing countries.

One possible form of assistance in this area would be that directed towards enabling the developing countries to accelerate the training of their own teachers. What is badly needed are experienced high calibre specialists teacher educators in various fields to be seconded to faculties and/or institutes of education to assist with the training of teachers and of those who will be teaching in the primary teacher training colleges. The emphasis should be on accelerating the localisation of the teaching force at all levels, both numerically and qualitatively. And no aid of this kind will be fully effective unless it has a counterpart training programme to prepare local personnel to eventually fill the places of the foreign experts.

3. Need for Training Educational Administrators and Educational Research Workers

One of the areas of critical manpower shortage is the field of educational leadership. There are far too few people in the developing countries who are qualified and experienced in the techniques of educational planning, educational administration and curriculum research and development. When resources are in short supply, the planning of their use and administration is of critical importance. Moreover, educational systems will inevitably be shaped by the philosophies of the educational leaders and planners. In developing countries, where educational development and national development are one and the same process, it is particularly important that there should be programmes specifically aimed at the formal training of educational leaders. Paradoxically, there are hardly any programs of training educational planners, administrators, inspectors of schools, and similar educational leaders in most African countries. The need for training in educational administration cannot be overstressed.

---

[6] See John W. Hanson, Report on the Supply of Secondary Level Teachers in English-speaking Africa - a project sponsored by the Overseas Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education. Institute for International Studies in Education and the African Studies Centre, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan.

At the same time there is great need for the development of curricula and teaching materials that are relevant to the needs of developing countries. For example, what kind of education will promote rapid economic development in predominantly rural subsistence societies? What kind of education will enable tribal societies to overcome group divisions and separatist tendencies and to build countries with a unified we-feeling of national identity? What should the professional preparation of teachers in such societies contain?

The development of relevant curricular materials assumes availability of information in a number of areas, related to child growth and development in the local culture and social milieu. But what do we really know about how children grow and develop in the different cultural settings; for example in Africa? How do they learn? What kind of illustrations, colours, symbols make sense? What values do children from different tribal areas have? What do they like? What do they fear? What factors at home hinder or encourage learning at school? What do we know about the cognitive development of children in Africa? Or should we assume that the conclusions derived from observations of children in Western cultures are of universal validity?

The search for relevance in education and the need to develop curricula that are appropriate to the conditions of developing countries strongly suggest that there is great need also for long-term research programmes in child growth and development to yield information on which meaningful curricula materials can be based. On the other hand, the production of such knowledge is seriously hampered in many developing countries because there are hardly any local persons sufficiently trained in the behavioral sciences as to be capable of initiating and maintaining research programs in child growth and development.

The training of indigenous behavioral scientists and research workers who understand the languages and cultures of the local scene is a sine qua non to the raising of the quality of education in most developing countries.

The Role of Modern Educational Technology

If the developing countries are going to enter, and not merely peep into the twentieth century, there is a basic need for widespread education to cover all the children and adults and not merely 50 per cent, and 2 to 3 per cent of the children in the primary and secondary school age groups respectively. One hundred years ago, Abraham Lincoln said that America could not survive, let alone prosper half free and half slave. Today, it may be legitimately said that the human race cannot expect to survive for ever and prosper half literate and half illiterate.

But to expand education significantly through the traditional country by country one-teacher-one-class approaches, is beyond the financial resources available in the developing countries and from donor agencies. The rate at which teachers can be trained or retrained and new schools built, sets an absolute limit to the pace at which educational systems can be expanded and improved at the same time. The cleavage between educational supply and demand in the developing countries and that between the poverty of developing countries and the affluence of the richer nations of the world, will continue to widen if we continue to rely only on the traditional approaches in education and other aspects of economic and social development. The Director General of UNESCO has called for "a more systematic utilization of the means which modern technology has placed at our disposal". There is no field in which this is more essential than that of education, particularly in the developing countries. As Frederick Harbison has said, "The newly developing countries must pioneer in the new methods of teaching - perhaps in utilizing modern inventions such as television, teaching machines, and other technological devices which are not yet widely employed even in most advanced countries. In fact, the need for new technologies of pedagogy is probably greater in the newly developing countries than in those with more fully developed education systems.

"Consequently, the African countries should give serious thought to the establishment of centres for research in educational technology. In this area, they may have to lead rather than to follow the more advanced nations of the world."

Large resources both human and financial are required, and careful planning is essential to amount such programs. In Uganda, with the assistance of UNICEF and UNESCO, a programme of retraining of primary school teachers is underway. The programme involves the use of radio, correspondence, materials and on-campus vacation instruction for the upgrading of 1,000 Grade I - the least qualified teachers - every three years, over a period of nine years, and for the improvement of the teaching of science in the primary schools. The results seem to be very encouraging.

Television and/or radio used in conjunction with self-instructional correspondence materials may in the long run prove to be the only practical way of taking education to all the children and adults who want to learn, but at the moment cannot do so for lack of teachers.* No investment in the developing countries is better placed than that which is channelled through education, particularly those areas which are calculated to make education systems of the recipient countries more innovative, change-oriented and self-reliant.

---

* See also Homer Kempfer: "Modern Technological Approaches to Education in East Africa". Teacher Education Vol. 6 No. 3, pp. 187-200.

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Centre for Educational Research and Innovation

Paris, 14th August, 1970

EDUCATION AND SOCIETY: AN INCREASING DISCREPANCY?

by

Dr. Denis B.P. Kallen,
CERI-OECD, Paris

1. In modern societies, the growth in numbers of pupils and, in general, the expansion of education, have become one of those inevitable phenomena which seem to be beyond the control of governments, or any other control. The question is no longer whether there should be growth, and how much, but how the growth which must take place can best be managed. We are no longer in the early stages of educational planning, when the developed countries seriously and, as it looks now, somewhat naively, set themselves targets for educational expansion in view of their economic growth targets. Those educational growth targets as they were set, notably at the 1961 Washington Policy Conference on Economic Growth and Investment in Education, organised by the O.E.C.D., have been largely attained, and even exceeded. The optimism has resulted in great concern about the future, the naivete in a much more sophisticated attitude.

2. Perhaps the most important effect, however, of this disenchantment is the completely new scope of the educational discussion. In the early 1960's, education was for the first time seen as one of the key elements in countries' economic growth and an attempt was made to define and measure the type of interactions between the two. It is true that this interaction was perhaps seen too much as a one-way process, the output of one being used as input for the other, with a guaranteed result expected from an increased volume of the operation. Gradually the term "social development" has appeared in the discussions (in fact, the promoters of educational planning have always considered social and economic development as closely interconnected), and efforts have been made to define the social objectives of education. However, the precise connection between education and the achievement of societies' major social objectives appeared very difficult to establish and, what is more important, these objectives could in hardly any country be clearly identified, nor could any approximate evaluation be made as to the contribution of education to their achievement.

3. Now, in 1970, an important step has been taken to further clarify the role of education in society, not by providing ready-made answers to the questions which were formulated and continuously re-formulated in the 1960's, but by considering the relationships from an entirely new angle, as an "open" one in which there is no preconceived cause-and-effect sequence: it is no longer attempted to define education's role in view of one or two preset societal goals, but education is placed in the context of the overall goals of a complex society and at the same time considered as one of those goals. Its role is no longer exclusively that of serving society's goals, but of shaping and re-shaping them in a process of continuous interaction. The concept of two separate systems, one of which uses the output of the other to achieve its autonomous objectives, has given way to that of one complex body within which the functioning of one part immediately affects that of all the others and vice versa.

4. The definition of goals, and priorities between alternative goals, has become the great challenge of the present and the future, not only for governments, but also for all those who are involved in education. Moreover, the goals of education are now clearly seen as part of society's overall goal structure, and eventually education has to compete with other areas of public concern for the allocation of human and material resources. Partly because of the past failures of education to attain the objectives which it pretended to pursue, the awareness has grown that education is only one of the policy instruments through which the major social and economic objectives which it may have tended to monopolise are pursued and that therefore educational policy needs to be part of the overall socio-economic policy design.

5. On the other hand, this has led to a much more sophisticated approach to the achievement of educational systems than that predominant in the recent past. In the absence of clearly-defined objectives, too much importance had been attached to increases in numbers of pupils, in output of graduates, in participation rates. Educational achievement, in the qualitative sense of the attainment of well-defined levels of knowledge, skills and attitudes, has gradually become a concern for educational policy, instead of being primarily an internal instrument for the educational system resulting in the allocation of pupils to various programmes, their promotion to higher grades and the selection-elimination process which has for very long characterised educational systems. Moreover, as the educational goals become more clearly related to the goals of society, educational achievement is being judged by the yardstick of achievement in society.

6. The discussion around the quality of educational opportunity objective, which has in recent years dominated educational policy in many of the most developed countries, has become the cornerstone of this evolution of thinking about the objectives and the achievement of education. This discussion has brought to light the inadequacy of the objective as it was conceived in the early 1960's, the need to develop better achievement measures and, more recently, the need to link achievement in education to what happens to individuals and groups once they have entered active life as citizens and employees. It has also given a new impetus to the reconsidering of the ways and means by which educational systems operate and attempt to achieve their objectives, and clearly demonstrates the inadequacy of their structures, their curricula and their achievement criteria for effectively and efficiently providing full opportunities for the development of the individual aptitudes of the full school population.

7. The question has been raised of whether the educational systems of the developed countries have not, in expanding as rapidly as they did, taken upon themselves a task for which they were not prepared, and whether a slower growth might not have been preferable. The discussion no longer centres around the growth which is desirable in view of manpower requirements, but around the growth which, on the one hand society can afford without putting other key targets at stake and which, on the other hand, can be handled by the resources which the educational systems have at their disposal. Some argue that in the next decade growth should be made to slow down in order to safeguard quality and to increase education's effectiveness as well as its efficiency. But many are also prepared to tackle the "taboo" issue of the other "vital" interest and values and argue that it is high time to reconsider what the essential values of society ought to be. We are only at the beginning of this battle, but it is already in the background of every present-day educational discussion.

I. Education Expansion - A "Runaway" Process

8. Enrolment forecasts were the most tangible result of the early attempts to plan countries' educational futures. Rather than being the outcome of educational policy discussions, most of them, although often presented as related to future manpower needs, were based on the expected social demand for education - and again a majority on the "contingent" social demand approach which is closely linked to the existing educational, social and economic system.[1]

Table 1 shows that under-estimation of future enrolment and numbers of graduates has been typical for most of these forecasts, whether they concerned secondary or higher, general or technical education, enrolments or numbers of graduates.

---

[1] See, for a wider discussion, "Educational Planning Methods" by J.P. Jallade, Background Study No. 8 for the Conference on Policies for Educational Growth, OECD, 1970 (roneotype).

Table 1

Enrolments and graduates, forecasts and actual outcomes

(in 000's)

a) Secondary

Country	Forecast Year	Projection Year	Type of School	Projected Figure	Actual figure	% over or under estimate
Belgium	1959	1965/66	Gen. Sec. School			
			a) Lower level	175.2	197.3	- 13%
			b) Upper level	75.0	85.3	- 14%
	1960	1965/66	Techn. & vocat. sec. schools			
			a) Lower level	205.4	244.5	- 19%
			b) Upper level	49.5	71.3	- 44%
Britain	1961	1967	Qual. school leavers (2 or more A-levels)	63.0	79.0	- 25%
Germany (Fed. Rep.)	1961	1967	Enrolms. in sec. schools			
			a) non-academic	744.0	830.0	- 12%
			b) academic	911.0	1,124.0	- 23%
Italy	1961	1965/66	Graduates sec. schools			
			a) higher schools	43.0	42.3	+ 2%
			b) techn.institutes	71.0	73.0	- 3%
			c) teacher training	29.6	31.4	- 6%
Japan	1960	1964/65	Enrolm. lower second.	6,489.0	6,475.7	+ 0.2%
	1960	1965/66	Enrolm. upper second.	4,580.0	5,073.9	- 11%
Portugal	1960	1964/65	Enrolm. in sec. schools (gen., tech., t.t.)	296.7	297.3	- 0.2%
Spain	1961	1966/67	Enrolm. gen. second.	868.3	929.6	- 7%

b) Higher

Country	Forecast Year	Projection Year	Type of School	Projected Figure	Actual figure	% over or under estimate
Britain	1962	1967	Enrolm. higher educ.	328.0	376.0	- 15%
France	1960/61	1964/65	Enrolm. univ. facult.	291.0	341.0	- 16%
	1964/65	1967/68	Enrolm. univ. facult.	525.0	499.0	+ 5%
Germany (Fed. Rep.)	1959	1966	Enrolm. in universities	193.0	263.0	- 34%
Spain	1961	1966/67	Enrolm. in higher educ.	92.3	105.4	- 14%
Turkey	1963	1965/66	Enrolm. in higher educ.	93.9	98.7	- 5%
Yugoslavia	1965	1967	Enrolm. in. higher educ.	328.0	376.0	- 15%

Source: "Educational Policies, Plans and Forecasts during the Nineteen-Sixties and Seventies", by G. Williams, Background Study No. 5, Conference on Policies for Educational Growth, OECD, 1970 (roneotype).

9. In nearly all of these cases, the fact that the final figures were higher than expected was not the result of a change in countries' policies (e.g. in admissions, promotion or evaluation standards) but of a higher than expected voluntary demand, resulting in higher initial enrolments or in lower numbers of leavers at intermediary stages.[1]

10. Many of the increased enrolments were the result of the high post-war birth rates in most of the OECD Member countries (with the notable exception of Austria and the Federal Republic of Germany where the war-time birth rates were much higher). But, as table 2 shows, for all post-compulsory programmes the expansion by far exceeded the proportions which could be assigned to the demographic causes alone and eventually the enrolment ratios for the age group 5-24 increased very considerably, whereas as a percentage of the total population the 20 per cent. mark which in 1950 had been reached by only 4 of the 19 countries, had in 1965 been attained by 8 countries, 4 of which had more than one in four of their citizens in schools.

11. But in spite of these considerable increases, there was still very much room for further expansion: in only 6 of the 19 countries were more than 60% of the 5-24-year-olds enrolled. The demand for more places in schools will in the next decade no doubt continue, and the growth rates of the past 15-20 years will in some cases even be outstripped. Table 3 gives an idea of what countries expect by 1980 as compared with their latest enrolments.

12. In most countries, the past trend of higher education to grow faster than secondary will be reinforced, but equally, in most cases the absolute expansion remains much more important in secondary than in higher. The latter tends to be overlooked in the present excitement about the phenomenal growth of higher education and the escalation of its costs. As a result of the need for qualitative improvement of the fast-growing upper secondary programmes it is not unlikely that in the next ten years the investments at this level will be higher than those for higher education.

Table 2

Educational enrolments, total population, population 5-24 and enrolments as a percentage of both, 1950 and 1965

	1950				1965			
	Enrolm.	Popul.	Enrolm. as a % of Popul.	Enrolm. as a % of 5-24 group	Enrolm.	Popul.	Enrolm. as a % of Popul.	Enrolm. as a % of 5-24 group
Austria	1.123	6.935	16.2	56.3	1.232	7.255	17.0	58.8
Belgium	1.361	8.639	15.8	56.9	2.158	9.464	22.8	78.9
Canada	2.605	13.737	19.0	56.4	5.453	19.604	27.8	73.6
Denmark	671	4.271	15.7	51.7	901	4.758	18.9	58.9
France	6.360	41.736	15.2	54.9	11.201	48.922	22.9	74.1
Finland	625	4.009	15.6	46.5	933	4.612	20.2	55.1
Germany (F.R.)	9.188	49.986	18.4	59.5	9.722	59.041	16.5	60.2
Ireland	620	2.969	20.9	63.1	730	2.855	25.6	77.8
Italy	6.927	46.769	14.8	43.2	9.321	51.575	18.1	57.7
Japan	19.101	82.900	23.0	55.3	23.083	97.960	23.6	62.3
Netherlands	2.200	10.114	21.8	55.6	3.146	12.292	25.6	53.1
Norway	424	3.265	13.0	46.4	692	3.723	18.6	58.4
Portugal	755	8.405	9.0	23.8	1.263	9.234	13.7	39.8
Spain	3.246	27.868	11.6	32.1	4.888	31.604	15.5	46.1
Sweden	833	7.014	11.9	43.5	1.238	7.734	16.0	54.2
Turkey	1.784	20.947	8.5	19.2	4.754	32.005	14.9	34.5
U.K.	7.320	50.616	14.5	52.9	9.512	54.595	17.4	60.1
U.S.A.	31.907	152.271	21.0	68.7	55.422	194.572	28.5	79.0
Yugoslavia	2.203	16.346	13.5	33.4	3.824	19.511	19.6	55.8

Source: "Educational Expansion in OECD Countries since 1950" by D. Blot, Background Study No. 1, Conference on Policies for Educational Growth, OECD, 1970 (roneotype).

---

[1] See, for a detailed discussion of specific cases: "Western European Secondary School Systems and Higher Education", by A. Little and D. Kallen, in: Comparative Education, Vol. 4, 2, March 1968.

Table 3

Latest and future enrolments in secondary and higher education in selected countries (in 000's)

		Secondary	Higher
Belgium	1966/67	664.7	91.6
	1980	845.4	164.9
Denmark	1968/69	319.1	62.2
	1979/80	364.3	75.0
France	1967/68	778.9 1)	524.0
	1975/76	979.0 1)	930.0
1) "2e cycle long" only			
Greece	1966/67	473.0	70.1
	1980/81	570.0	90.0
Italy	1966/67	3.204.0	460.2
	1980/81	5.450.0	974.0
Ireland	1968	170.3	21.7
	1980	291.9	42.6
Norway	1968	123.0 1)	34.0
	1980	175.0 1)	65.0
1) Upper secondary only			
Netherlands	1968	895.8	135.2
	1980	1.337.0	141.0
Spain	1970	1.695.7 1)	343.6 2)
	1980	1.720.1 1)	730.1 2)
1) Excl. technical 2) Universities only			
Turkey	1968/69	1.057.3	145.9
	1980	2.615.5	210.5
U.S.A.	1968	14.121.0 1)	13.851.0 2)
	1978	16.800.0 1)	20.635.0 2)
1) Grades 9-12 2) Degree-credit only			

13. The figures quoted above conceal another fact which risks being overlooked in the euphoria about the achieved expansion in numbers: important proportions of the younger age-group, i.e. those just beyond the compulsory school-leaving age (and in a few countries also important groups of children who have not yet reached that age) are not enrolled and even in 1980 in very many of the most developed countries high percentages of the 16 and 17 year-olds and a majority of the 18 and 19 year-olds will not be in full-time school. Table 4 summarises the data. It raises the question as to whether there will still be a place in society in 1980 for those who leave school at age 14, 15, 16 or even 17. It must be realised that on the one hand the trend of school systems to extend the period of general schooling and to postpone technical training until upper-secondary or post-secondary education risks sending this group into active life without any specialised training, and that on the other hand, a very high percentage of these early leavers will not have attained the educational standard which corresponds to their age. In a way, this group risks paying very heavily for the failure of secondary school systems to effectively provide suitable educational programmes for the whole age-group.

Table 4

Enrolment ratios, now and around 1980, numbers of countries

		Now	By 1980
Ages 14 and 15	Over 80% enrolled	6	13-15
	Between 60 and 80%	4	2
	Less than 60%	4	2
	Total number of countries	16	17-19
Ages 16 and 17	Over 80%	3	7
	60-80%	3	7
	Less than 60%	13	5
	Total	19	19
Ages 18 and 19	Over 40%	2	9
	20-40%	8	5
	Less than 20%	9	4
	Total	19	18
Ages 20-23	Over 20%	2 or 3	5
	10-20%	5	13
	Less than 10%	11	2
	Total	19	20

II. The Drawbacks of the Expansion

14. The growth in numbers did not come as a surprise: apart from the perfectly foreseeable demographic factor, the increased social demand was the sensible response to the expectations - justified or unjustified - which parents and pupils were led to put on education as a means to improve their chances of having a better life. This also applies to the preferences for particular programmes, especially those that give access to higher education. Reforms of secondary education which dealt only with one particular part of the programme, but left, for example, the final examinations (baccalaureat, etc.) unchanged, were doomed to failure. The history of educational reform over the past twenty years has, in most countries, been a story of trial and error, of projects which had to be abandoned and replaced by more radical ones before they were even half-way implemented.

15. Educational expenditure has grown beyond what was considered possible only a few years ago. In the OECD Member countries it was, in or around 1967, over 7 per cent. of GNP in Finland and Sweden, between 6 and 7 in the Netherlands, the USA,[1] and between 5 and 6 in Belgium, Norway, and between 4 and 5 in nearly all other countries. An extrapolation, based on the continuation of the increase in expenditure over the past 15 years,[2] provides percentages of over 10 for 8 countries, between 6 and 10 for 6 more countries. Obviously, the increasing costs (for 4 countries a continuation of the present trends would even lead to educational expenditure of over 15% of GNP) will become one of the main stimuli for a reflection upon the goals of education and of the priorities which ought to be given to the various sectors of public and private financing.

16. The concern about increasing expenses has led to questioning the efficiency of education in planning and managing its material resources, and made the claim for higher productivity become a major political issue. The conflict over increased efficiency as opposed to education's quality and the attainment of its essential goals, which many people see looming, may, however, not arise, provided that new methods are developed for the allocation and management of resources and for the use of new educational technologies and for new teaching-learning systems.

17. But the problem of the efficiency of education is also one of its internal, pedagogical efficiency and its capacity to develop curricula, and methods which are suited to the full

---

[1] For Canada, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, no recent data available, but the figure was very likely over 5 per cent.

[2] Data from "Etude Comparative sur les Dépenses d'Enseignement dans les Pays de l'OCDE et leur Evolution depuir 1950", par M. Debeauvais. Rapport de Base No. 2, Conference on Policies for Educational Growth, OECD, 1970.

range of children's abilities and interests. The volume of grade-repetition, drop-out and failure has increased proportionally to that of the enrolments and has thereby attained a magnitude which both in economic and in human terms is scandalous. In the Italian "scuola media" the number of repeaters in grade 1 was in 1953/5 over 25,000 (14.5%), in 1962/63 over 113,000 (17%). In France in 1964/65, 46.9% of the children in the "sixieme" (1st grade secondary school) were at least one year over normal age. In many European countries less than 60% of the first admitted pupils finish academic secondary schooling and a majority of these do so with one or more years' delay.

18. But the most serious handicap has been the inability of educational systems to adapt their structures and curricula to a new clientele. Certainly, many important structural changes transformed, in particular the secondary level. The first cycle (for ages 11-14) is in many European countries meant to be a comprehensive school. In some of them, however, options preparing for academic secondary schools continue to drain the best pupils and orientation is generally downwards: from the academic towards the technical options. Changes in curricula have been modest, badly prepared and met with tough resistance (the question about Latin in the "sixieme" in France is a classical example, tougher than the Loch Ness monster).

19. Countries have now realised that reforms which were not backed up by proper R and D machinery did not stand a chance of survival in educational systems with perennial traditions, deep-rooted interests and untouchable values. The establishment of adequate bodies for preparing and managing innovation is, in many European countries, the most important recent educational policy decision.

III. The Unfulfilled Promise of "Education For All"

20. The equality of all citizens, which had always been guaranteed in the Constitution of many countries, and which had been implicit in most educational legislation, was in the 1960's widely proclaimed as one of the first, if not the first objective. There is no need to mention in detail the findings and conclusions of the Coleman report. For a number of other countries, less sophisticated but very convincing data about social and regional disparities have been collected and analysed for the OECD.[1] The post-war expansion has not reduced the considerable regional disparities in educational participation except for those levels where participation is very high. Notable among the independent variables which account for regional variation are the educational level of the population (in particular of the parents) and its occupational structure - in other words, the "home" in the broader sense.

21. Similarly, social selection related to educational participation which is most powerful at the secondary level has not been affected significantly by the expansion. Obviously it continues in higher education. Of course, all social groups have increased their participation rates, but those with the highest initial rates (i.e. the upper strata) move most rapidly towards full participation and thus the discrepancies between social groups are maintained until participation approaches saturation. For social disparities, again, the two explanatory factors mentioned above prevail.

22. However, disparities in participation rates conceal another type of disparity which is much more significant and much more difficult to reduce, i.e. the differences in educational attainment. What the work on equality of educational opportunity (notably the Coleman report) has brought to light for the USA, is still hardly explored for other countries.

23. An OECD analysis of available data[2] provides little evidence as to achievement differences among social groups in primary schools, and much more for the completion of primary, the transfer to secondary and the achievement in secondary school. But by the end of secondary, the effect of social selection has made the achievement differences almost disappear. There is no conclusive evidence, however, to show that this is due only to the different ability levels among the social groups being compared at this level. In fact, there is some support for the common-sense thesis that social background becomes a less powerful variable, and school and individual ability and motivation variables more powerful ones the higher up the child proceeds in his educational career.

24. Although all available data show that the school variables play a rather modest role among the variables that offer educational achievement, it is also recognised that up to now the range of new school variables that have consistently been modified to increase low achievement

---

[1] See "Group Disparities in Educational Participation", by Ch. Nam and others, Background Study No. 4 for the Conference on Policies for Educational Growth, OECD, 1970 (roneotype).

[2] See "Differences in School Achievement and Occupational Opportunities - Explanatory Factors", by A. Sohlman, Background Study No. 10, Conference on Policies for Educational Growth, OECD, 1970 (roneotype).

is very narrow, and that often too simplistic remedies have been applied. Most of the projects seem not to have succeeded in making children pass a certain critical threshold level beyond which they can, so to speak, survive by their own efforts, i.e. without the massive support provided in the take-off period. The discussion around the final value of "Project Talent" in the U.S. is not yet closed. But one of the key issues of future educational policy in the most developed countries is whether the enormous resources needed to give such projects a reasonable chance of success can be mobilised and whether this should have priority over other objectives.

25. In fact, the real issue is the objective of equality of educational opportunity and its real meaning. Also, outside the United States the student criticism has loudly voiced the claim for equality both in education and in society. The educational policy statements of many countries (most recently in particular France, the Netherlands, the Federal Republic) give high priority to the objective, but the proposed remedies remain modest and vague in the light of the complexity and the size of the task. In the above-named countries and in Italy the main political battle (and this means structures, curricula and resources) is being fought at the level of secondary education. In the Scandinavian countries and in Yugoslavia the stress has moved to upper secondary and higher education.

IV. A New Education for a New Society?

26. If present trends continue - and it is difficult to see how they could be discontinued - in the foreseeable future, at any rate before 2000, education will absorb between 30 and 50 per cent. of the developed countries' national budgets, and in many of them between 15 and 20 per cent. of GNP. The school population will, together with the old-age pensioners, far outnumber the active population (in 1965 for every 100 "active" people over 60 were in school in Ireland, the Netherlands, the USA). The dichotomy between education and society in terms of value systems and of the bearing of achievement in education upon achievement in society will grow. Most individuals will spend between 18 and 20 years, that is the full time until far into adulthood, in school, and only when their ideas about life and society and their attitudes and habits are fairly well-established will they enter upon active life, only to find that the values which prevail there have little in common with what they were made to believe during their growth period.

27. But at the other end, that of society, other changes are likely to occur. Reduction of active life period, of working hours, increase of leisure - the only unknown variable is their precise proportion and timing. More important is the gradual change in the interaction between the individual and society: social, religious and professional structures no longer assign to him a precise role and provide him with a value system and a code of behaviour. The challenge of education is to help him find a new "self-supporting" and constructive role to play if he is not to be submitted to the anonymous forces which replaced the old framework.

28. Hence the priority given in thinking about a new education for the future to individual development and to critical thinking. Individual development is here, not seen as that of pre-conceived and unalterable capacities, but of interaction with a social environment. Secondly, this leads to assigning a key role to the search for a consensus about the goals to be pursued among all those who are involved in education and to the concept of a built-in process for seeking such a consensus about goals. If this process is not to be a waste of time and a potential source for conflict and institutionalised insecurity, it must be made clear which goals are the responsibility of each particular group: some are clearly to be defined at the national level, others at the institute or the class level, and the consensus is reached in a different way in the two cases. The ups and downs of the recent efforts to introduce participation in higher education show how unclear the notions still are as to how this is to be achieved.

29. The process of defining goals for education and for society becomes a self-fulfilling process if it is not guided by a concept of alternative societal and educational futures and an attempt to spell out what the implications of the alternatives will be for social and educational policy.[1] If the future of society is a second-phase industrial one, education will have to give priority to the socialisation objective. If it is a person-centred society, individual development and the promotion of a critical function will become the key educational goals. But the question must also be asked of whether education is not already gradually giving priority to the individual development-critical function objective, whereas society inevitably moves towards a second industrial-phase era. If this is true, we are heading for a period of massive individual frustration and violent social conflict.

---

[1] See, for a discussion of these alternatives: "Alternative Educational Futures in the United States and in Europe: Methods, Issues and Policy Relevance", by W. Harman, Background Study No. 12, Conference on Policies for Educational Growth, OECD, 1970 (roneotype).

30. It seems justified to raise the question of whether this is not, on the one hand, a dramatisation of the issue and, secondly, whether it is not based on an enormous over-estimation of the role which education plays in society. One might also ask whether countries are still able to control this process and, if necessary, to design educational policies which would enable us to avoid the future conflict. The answer to this could be firstly that the evolution in the recent past does not give much support to the thesis that educational policy can change the course of evolution of education, as it seems to be largely determined by other, much more powerful, factors, and secondly, that this seriously under-estimates the influence of world-wide events and trends upon individual countries' educational and societal destinies. It could be one of the future challenges of comparative education to bring some clarity into this rather unexplored field.

THE ROLE AND RATIONALE FOR EDUCATIONAL AID IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL NEEDS

Sun Ho Kim
Professor of Education
Kyung Hee University, Seoul, Korea

Technical and professional needs are inextricably connected with the socio-economic needs of a society, and all these needs must serve the need for a change and the need for stability in that society. It cannot survive without stability and it cannot make a progress without fluidity. Many developing countries lose control of the balance between these two with the presence of foreign influence.

Educational and technical aids come into the developing countries as agents of social change as well as social stability, but more as agents of social change. I would like to show what I mean by this and will conclude this short paper with some important remarks about the role of a country which receives foreign education aids and the role of a country which gives such aids.

When a developing country prefers an industrial plant to surplus grains as a form of foreign aid, it certainly expresses its national pride and identity well. Some developing countries do accept surplus grains. In this case the rationale is that "one who is drowning must grab a piece of straw floating on the water". In reality, however, there is not much difference between these two attitudes.

As long as developing countries want to improve their living conditions, they must accept technical and educational aids from outside. Once the aids are brought in, the consequence is their own kind of chaotic upheavals. I have two examples to give which, I hope, will lead us to think about the role of the receiving countries.

The first example is technical aid brought about by the new miracle strains of wheat and rice. Because of the arrival of the new strains of wheat and rice, in Mexico, for instance, wheat yields have grown from 500 lbs. per acre in 1950 to 2,300 lbs. today. In West Pakistan, because of the new hybrid, wheat production of that country increased by 171% and rice production by 162%. At present about 19 countries are being affected by what the TIME magazine called the Green Revolution.[1]

We are no longer a captive of the fear that "populations are growing faster than food production". The world's agricultural potential is now great enough to feed 157 billion people which is about 45 times present world population.

The Green Revolution has however presented us new problems. For example, "because of these new miracle grains require relatively costly investments in seeds, irrigation, fertilizers and insecticides, large landholders may force increasing number of small farmers and peasants off the land and into the already over-crowded cities."[2]

What would happen to these 19 and more countries if they fail in coping with this problem?

---

[1] TIME, July 13, 1970. "The Third World: Seeds of Revolution," pp. 24-25.

[2] Ibid., p. 24.

India's Home Minister, Y.B. Chavan, is believed to have said the result will be: "Unless we do something about the Green Revolution, it will become the red revolution."[3]

As will be mentioned in a second example, the aid giving nation comes to developing countries as an agent of social change without due regard to its effects on the social stability of these countries.

Fortunately the Republic of Korea is not included in those 19 countries which are undergoing the Green Revolution. It has enough problems for its educational system. It has been affected by what I call the Black Revolution. The problem is so named because the number of students who wear black school uniforms has increased unprecedently since Korea was introduced at the end of World War II, by the United States, to the ideal and system of an equal educational opportunity for all.

In the Republic of Korea since the end of World War II, the number of pupils in primary school increased 4 times; those in secondary school by 17 times; and those in higher education by about 22 times.[4] The impact of the quantitative increase is comparable to any revolution in history. At the beginning of each school term one-fourth of the national currency is poured into schools in the form of tuition and other related expenses payable to the schools. The size of classes have been greatly expanded, and as a result, in primary and secondary schools, 60 or even 80 students have to be accommodated in a single classroom. Entrance examinations used to be competitive in the past, but now are more so, and it has become an ordeal for students in moving from a junior high to a senior high school and then from a senior high to a college.

For those students who failed to enter a college, special "cram schools" burgeoned, to the distaste of the Ministry of Education. The number of these schools now amount to somewhere around 1,700 and one of the largest schools is said to consist of about 2,000 students.[5] It is interesting to note that there are only 840 senior high schools in Korea.

Competition is not restricted in the school entrance examinations. College graduates have to compete for jobs also. They have to go through a series of examinations before they are offered prestigeous positions in government, industry, and other enterprises.

When the number of students in high schools and colleges was very small, the voice of the students was relatively insignificant. But today, with the burgeoning of secondary and college students, a government could easily be toppled under the influence of sheer numbers, which did happen in April, 1960.

Thus, the examination of these facts lead me to believe that the educational as well as technical aids are usually accompanied by not only what is normally regarded as "good" or "desirable", but what is also regarded as "bad" or "undesirable". To say this in a Korean expression, "they (the aid-giving nations) give us not only "medicine", but also "disease". It is almost the same thing to say that "they are confusing us all the time".

In a measure designed to contribute toward the social stability of our country, the United States educational agencies in Korea profoundly assisted our technical and professional education. They helped technical schools and colleges with new materials, equipment and teaching methods. But, it must be admitted that their presence in Korea contributed in no small degree to the so-called "brain-drain" of our scientists, engineers, and medical doctors to the United States. Will these intellectual defectors ever come back in a "brain-train"? One may hope they will. But the point is still clear that the aid-giving nation has confused us by giving "medicine" and "disease" at the same time.

What is the role of the aid-giving nation? And what is the role of the aid-receiving nation? It is indeed difficult to talk about the role of the aid-giving nation without offending their good intentions. Therefore, one realistic approach to this problem is to talk about the role of the aid-receiving nation.

All I can say is this. The aid-receiving nation must have the capability to develop a particular formula or "medicine" which can cure "diseases" or "problems" in its own country. But all problems are unique to a particular country. The "medicine" must therefore be of a particular type in order to be effective in its own right. How can one country develop such

---

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ministry of Education, Republic of Korea. Education in Korea. Seoul, Korea: Central Educational Research Institute, 1968, p. 14, 18, and 22.

[5] The Dong-A-Ilbo, Seoul, Korea, July 1, 1970, p. 7.

"medicine"? This is a task for each country to undertake. If it fails, there will be nothing but social chaos and continuing upheavals.

I make one suggestion to aid-giving nations: The aid-giving nation must attach, on each label of the exported items for aid, a prescription describing how and when the content should be or should not be used, with a warning that it may have such and such effects. This requires the aid-giving nation to be more frank and explicit in its policy on educational aids to developing countries.

- - -

Sun Ho Kim
George Peabody College for Teachers
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Name: KIM Sun Ho
Date of Birth: August 27, 1926
Nationality: Korean

Education: Certificate, College of Law, Korea University, Seoul, Korea, 1950

Master of Arts, Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1956

Certificate, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1958

Certificate of Advanced Study in Comparative Education, University of Chicago, 1959

Ph.D. Candidate (Comparative Education), George Peabody College for Teachers

Professional Experience: Professor of Education, Kyung Hee University, Seoul, Korea, 1960 - to date.

Instructor of Educational Sociology, the University of Maryland Far East Division, Seoul, Korea (1960-1965).

Lecturer in Anthropology, Seoul National University, Seoul, Korea, 1962-1964.

Dean of Academic Affairs, Kyung Hee University, 1964-66.

Research Consultant, Human Resources Research Office, George Washington University, 1954-1955.

Visiting Professor of Education and Sociology, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee, 1969-1971.

Professional Activities: Member, the Board of Directors, the Korean Society for the Study of Education, 1964-1965.

Executive Secretary, the Korean Council of Christian Professors, 1965-1966.

Executive Secretary, the Korean National Council of University Deans of Academic and Student Affairs, 1966-67.

Executive Secretary, the Korean Comparative Education Society, 1968-

Member, International Liaison Committee, Comparative Education Society, U.S.A., 1968-

Participated, as Korean representative, in the Third Seminar on Student Personnel Services and Counseling for College Officials from Asia which was held in Indiana University in 1967 under the auspices of the U.S. State Department.

QUANTITY AND QUALITY IN THE PLANNING OF EDUCATIONAL AID PROGRAMMES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

by

Nathan Kravetz
International Institute for Educational Planning, Unesco, Paris

Planners and Educational Results

Educational planning in developing countries has long been the realm of economists, demographers, and statisticians. Their operations have generally been based upon the propsition that expenditures for education will produce desired manpower to meet economic demands and to achieve national economic progress.

Whether this has been the case of the past twenty years is difficult to determine. As the Pearson Report reminds us, quantitative improvements in education "should not be allowed to conceal the very serious problems of quality" now prevalent in many developing countries.[1]

In most African and Latin American countries over half the pupils in primary schools do not return to school after the second year. Teachers in such schools are often themselves only primary school completers. In the secondary schools, curriculums are focused primarily on academic methods and goals. No more than 10 per cent of secondary school graduates enter a university, and there with the majority of students in law, letters, political science, and some engineering programmes, only a few ever graduate.

Pearson points out that:

> "Almost half of official technical aid is in the educational sector. About 85 per cent of this aid finances teachers, other educational staff or trainees, while the rest is devoted to school buildings, equipment, and other facilities."[2]

And this aid has continued to rise over the years, both from unilateral and multilateral sources.

On the one hand, we see mounting technical assistance efforts,[3] and on the other hand there is serious question as to the effectiveness of such efforts.

In his review of the Pearson Report, Michael Lipton generalizes that:

> "Nobody has yet found a statistically significant link between non-military aid per head ... and any combination of development indicators such as growth, equalization, employment, work-force industrialization, etc. ..."[4]

He insists that of all aspects of technical assistance, the yields are most evident in agriculture and population policy, showing favourable returns in food production, employment, growth, and foreign-exchange self-sufficiency.

John Jewkes makes the point as forcefully:

> "... unwarranted claims have been made as to the direct connection between economic growth and expenditure on general education ..."[5]

The same point is made more specifically by M.S. Adiseshiah, Unesco Deputy Director-General:

> "There is no co-relation between the rate of educational assistance and the rate of growth of GNP or per capita income. There is no co-relation between educational aid and the trade balance of the country. Nor is there a relation

---

[1] Lester B. Pearson, Partners in Development, Praeger Publishers, N.Y. 1969, p. 67.

[2] Ibid., p. 199.

[3] The United States is first in net disbursements; Germany is second; France is third; and Japan is fourth. 1968 data: OECD, Development Assistance, 1969 Review, Paris, December 1969, p. 296.

[4] "Forward from Pearsonism", Bulletin, Institute of Development Studies (University of Sussex), December 1969, pp. 11-14.

[5] John Jewkes, The New Ordeal by Planning, Macmillan, London, 1968, p. 33.

> between per capita education aid to Asian countries and their educational performances as judged by their planning mechanisms, ... the relation between educational output and market demand or other such indicators."[1]

Philip H. Coombs tells us that:

> "despite their rapid expansion, educational systems have been unable to keep pace with the rising manpower demands ... Caught between rising demands and limited resources educational systems have tried to escape by spreading their resources thinner and thinner ... The unhappy results have been tragically high drop-out and repeater rates and a widespread erosion of educational quality."[2]

It is recognized that school enrolments are increasing, but with problems of continuity. More schools are being built, more teachers are being sought and, when found, trained. Secondary schools and universities are blooming where no schools were before. Planners have produced some change, but is it good enough?

The accumulation of testimony makes it necessary to look to improvement in the planning effort itself. With the continual expansion of technical assistance, educational planning requires challenge, testing and perhaps drastic overhaul.

The Draft Programme of Unesco for 1971/72 places strong emphasis on considerations of quality and the challenge to educational planners. Director-General Maheu states in this Draft:

> "... Educational planning must be concerned and used essentially as a technique and a strategy for achieving the objective conditions that are essential if a qualitative change is to be wrought in man as a social being."

He points out that the:

> "rethinking of educational planning ... is bound up, both in conception and in implementation, with the new ideas, techniques and methods upon which the real renewal of the content and process of education depends. Without losing contact with the economist - which ensures that his work has a proper place in the structures of society as it is - the educational planner is drawing closer to the educationist, without whom his ideas and projects can be no more than abstractions."[3]

Quality Aspects in Planning

Within the context of the foregoing, the nature of the planning process and the difficulties which beset planners as they undertake to juggle supply, demand, resources, and educational procedures can be examined. In this review the aspects of quality in education should become clear.

Basic to planning activity are the dual factors of national resources - actual and potential - (supplemented by technical assistance) and national policy for education. Policies on education are frequently expressed as the result of the complex matrix of traditions-and-trend, aspiration-and-mobility opportunity, economic and social class structures, and the existing political orientation and control. This combination of forces in developing countries is brought to bear upon the educational planner so as to produce desired results in terms of base-line national conditions, vis-a-vis neighbouring states, and ultimately in relation to the norms of 'developed' countries.

Thus, planners are faced with explicit policies (which become educational goals) in a number of aspects, and for each policy aspect, we note some of the qualitative elements which are explicit:

---

1. "Educational Assistance in Asia: Programmes and Philosophy". Address given at the Fourth Asian Regional Conference of the WCOTP, Djakarta, 22 April 1969.

2. Philip H. Coombs, "The Need for a New Strategy of Educational Development", in Richard Symonds, (ed.) International Targets for Development, Faber and Faber, London, 1970, p. 137.

3. Unesco, Draft Programme and Budget for 1971/72, Paris 1970, p. XIII.

(a) The policy on full age-group enrolment:

Shall all children in the ages 6-11 be provided with education? To what extent is such policy (or specific goal) to be seriously pursued? What about this policy for older groups?

(b) The policy on features of the various educational structures: their length, their internal differentiation, teacher qualifications, their curriculums, materials and educational processes, and their vocational targets:

How many years shall be offered? What subjects shall be taught? How many tracks? For what specific jobs? Who shall teach, and in what ways? Who shall administer, supervise, develop programmes and materials?

(c) The policy which determines the relationship of the primary level with the secondary level, and the 'rites of passage' between them:

What criteria shall be used for promotion? What is to be done about repeaters? How should drop-outs be reduced? What would happen if we insist upon (and provide facilities for) education for girls as for boys?

(d) Policy decisions relating educational inputs and processes to the requirements of other national sectors and the priorities which result from such decisions:

How can more money and more qualified personnel be obtained? How can the work of the educational system be 'tuned-in' to that of the other sectors: agriculture, industry, transportation, health, etc.? What are the priorities for development of the educational system vis-a-vis those of other systems?

Criteria for Quality in Educational Aid Planning

Questions of policy thus become, for planners, questions of economics, population trends and movements and, with the collaboration of educators, feasible educational goals. It is when technical assistance is available or in the offing that policies and educational goals become transmuted into requests for programme support and that the processes inherent in the donor-recipient relationship come into play.

There is general agreement that education aid must be offered at the request of the developing country and not provided in an atmosphere of coercion. The maintenance of national sovereignty and the provision of aid within prevalent cultural contexts are basic in such relationships.

However, there is always the need to elucidate clearly the benefits to be derived by the recipient and those of the donor. Technical aid planning provides a stable market for the latter. It may tend to maintain peace, order and stability where crisis looms - and what developed country seeks turmoil and potential chaos? These and other considerations, including that of fraternal good-feeling among peoples, enter into the donor's view of educational aid planning.

From the recipient's standpoint, we note two guidelines proposed by Arthur J. Lewis:

> "1. External aid projects should be related to economic development, educational manpower development, social development, and institutional development.
>
> 2. External aid projects should be related to a nation's ability to make and to implement long-range plans for educational development."[1]

Such recipient-oriented guidelines for aid provide substantive support for quality focus in planning. Planners representing donors and recipients must work to go beyond the development of simply more schools, more teachers, greater enrolment, and more educational output. They must seek to reach for answers to: what kinds of schools, what kinds of teaching, what materials, what kinds of learning, and what is the ability of the educated output to perform as the goals of their educational systems require?

It is with such questions that education advisors find themselves frequently in the role of a 'loyal opposition' to planners and policy-makers in developing countries. Advisors on educational planning are faced with the diplomatic necessity of seeming to reject or to interfere with host country interests.

---

[1] Guidelines for the Planning of External Aid Projects in Education, Education and World Affairs, N.Y. 1967, p. 10.

Let us take the case of an education minister who believes that it is in his country's best interests to perpetuate the educational system of the former colonial power, with its static curriculums and its excruciating examinations. His interest is in the expansion of that system without regard for quality.

In another case, education authorities request grants for capital aid to construct more facilities for teacher education, or for universities. There is little awareness - except for the hope of further grants - of the heavy recurrent costs of such projects and of the lack of personnel to staff them productively if budget for recurrent costs were available.

In such circumstances, educational planners resort to the development of cost analyses and respond to programme requests with alternate, fiscally feasible, programmes. But without the qualitative analysis of the potential values to be derived, cost analyses can be misleading and superficial.

We urge therefore that planners work to increase enrolments and to encourage policies of innovation and change in educational systems.

They must seek to reduce unit costs and support better management and administrative procedures.

Universities should be expanded and they must focus on development and national interests rather than on elitism.

Teacher supply must be given priority and so must the development of methods and techniques which make economical use of such costly personnel.

Planners must provide for adult education, but literacy can be defined only in relation to social, cultural and economic contexts.

There are numerous other such directions which planners for education in developing countries must take. We agree with William J. Platt when he says:

> "Much educational planning to date has been primarily a statistical exercise of setting and costing educational targets, often based upon inadequate and unreliable data and questionable assumptions ... The old strategy of linear expansion has outlived its usefulness. The replacing strategy [of educational planning] must give major emphasis to qualitative reforms promoting the kinds of educational change required to make education adaptable, relevant, efficient and effective."[1]

Implications for Quality Concepts In Educational Planning

Planners of educational systems in developing countries have too long been faced with inadequate and wasteful investments of resources, time and effort.

It is now time to look forward to educational planning which will reflect what we have learned from sober study and intensive analysis:

(a) educational planners cannot function as economists-in-isolation. They must undertake their specialized studies and analyses within a multi-disciplinary context. The work of specialists in sociology, political science, anthropology, and, of course, education, must be sought out. In this respect, the team in educational planning will replace the individual;

(b) educational planners must work in closer proximity to decision-makers with regard to education policy. The participation of community representatives as well as of various wielders of political power must be obtained. It is entirely too wasteful of planners' rare capabilities to permit them to work in luxurious isolation only to have their plans emerge out of context and out of touch with the realities of the national condition. In the future, educational planners will work more openly in contact with all those who have interest in and responsibility for national progress in education;

---

1. Research for Educational Planning: Notes on Emergent Needs, Unesco, International Institute for Educational Planning, Paris, 1970, pp. 40, 45.

(c) evaluation of educational output will become the increasing concern of planners, particularly as it reflects the effectiveness of the educational system itself. Increasingly, evaluation of output will be in the form of interventions within the system to determine educational 'value added'. In such circumstances, goals of education will have to be made more explicit so that a true determination of student gains with respect to them could be made. Thus, evaluation will be built into planning and will become continual. The net effect will be for a 'rolling planning' to become operative, involving the adaption, modifications, and flexibility of existing plans. It will not be necessary, with on-going evaluation and feedback on processes, to produce an 'N-year Plan' and then wait for results at the 'nth' year or thereafter;

(d) educational planners will need to extend their interests and collaboration ever more closely with the implementation agents of their plans. Planners will become more involved in the structures of educational systems, in the relationships which exist within those structures, in their communications problems, and in implementation processes generally. Plans which are not appropriately implemented or which become inoperative, or 'bottlenecked' by structural or administrative defects become worthless. It is in these areas of systems flow and administrative operations that planning specialists and their colleagues in administration will attempt to conduct facilitation studies;

(e) planning in developed countries has provided knowledge and techniques which are of universal application. In the planning of educational futures in developing countries, we already find new techniques of relevance and great promise. Thus, the potential for continuing to emphasize the close relationship between quantitative and qualitative planning in education is to be found in such innovative procedures as simulation, Delphi methods, model-making, operations research and systems analysis. With such methods, planners are learning to understand better the nature of their tasks and responsibilities. With the development of programming-planning-budgeting procedures (PPBS) and programme evaluation review techniques (PERT), impetus is given to the improved rationalization of educational planning and to more effective collaboration between planners and implementers;

(f) finally, we look to the possibility of seeing in developing countries the avoidance of "making the same mistake twice", which was not always available to the now-developed countries. Rather, we anticipate more of the 'giant steps' which some developing countries have experienced. We must learn from history and take full advantage of all our achievements, and if not in educational planning, where can we begin?

I have attempted in this paper to open the door a bit wider to the winds of change which I have felt around us, and to express the hope that educational planning can become a truly collaborative activity, drawing upon the maximum of all our capabilities to achieve the results for which we strive.

BUILDING A NATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION AS AN AID TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES*

Introduction

Some five years ago, sponsored by both UNESCO and the International Association of Universities, Sir John Lockwood and his associates presented some voluminous reports of their research on the higher education and development in South-East Asia. Among their 49 conclusions, let us quote the first two as follows:

1. Universities and other institutions of higher education in South-East Asia have a particular duty to make the greatest possible contribution to the development and progress of their countries.

2. They must therefore plan their courses of teaching and their research with a special responsiveness to the needs of their people.[1]

Of course, we all know that the needs of their people are many and different, as the investigators have listed in their following articles. It is surprising, however, no mention has been made about building a national philosophy of education particularly for teachers training in these developing countries.

It was last summer, this writer had the honor to attend the 5th East West Philosophers' Conference at Hawaii University to discuss "The Alienation of Modern Man". One day, the alienation of intelligentsia in developing countries was enthusiastically discussed. The present writer suggested that the philosophers and professors of the more advanced countries offer some real help to the scholars of the less advanced countries in order to develop a sounder and more acceptable national philosophy of education. Though Mr. Nadjm Rammate, the representative of UNESCO to the Conference and other participants of the Conference did show an enthusiastic interest about this idea, nothing concrete has been achieved yet since then.

It was last fall that this writer accepted a contract the Chinese National Institute for Comilation and Translation to write a new text book on Modern Philosophy of Education for the Chinese college students in Taiwan. With his outline for the new book, the author went back to Taiwan during the summer, 1970. Within two months he interviewed some ten outstanding scholars about the problem on a national philosophy of education. He also taught a course on philosophy of education to a group of teachers at Taipei Municipal Teachers College for Women.

With this general background in mind, the writer is now going to present: (I) Some basic conceptions about developing countries as well as a national philosophy of education; and (II) A Case Study of *A Modern Philosophy of Education*, designed for and taught to the Chinese college students. Some final and personal remarks will be made at the end of this paper.

(I) Some Basic Conceptions

There are two critical articles on educational planning for developing countries in the last issue of 1969 *Comparative Education Review*. In his article entitled "Some Practical Reviews on Educational Planning", Professor C.A. Anderson says that his article is "to enhance UNESCO's capability for supplying sound assistance in the improvement of contemporary educational systems through the world .... Having placed their trust in the counsel of UNESCO, developing countries deserve hard-headed and cogent advice."[2]

The second article is written by Professor D.P. Sanders. In his "Toward a Theory of Educational Development", Sanders believes that "the creation of valid and reliable procedures for defining and measuring the variables of the model proposed here and their use as indicators both of the current state of the system and as criteria for choosing educational policy would improve the capacity of educational systems to renew themselves."[3] Sharing these ideas of our Society members, the present writer would like to choose the following basic conceptions for our discussion:

---

* This paper is prepared and delivered by Dr. Cyrus Lee, Professor of Psychology at Edinboro State College, Pa., U.S.A., to the World Congress of Comparative Education Societies, which was held at University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Canada, August 17 to 21, 1970.

[1] UNESCO, *Higher Education and Development in South-East Asia*, United Nations, 1965, p. 79.

[2] *Comparative Education Review*, Oct. 1969, p. 275.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 293.

(A) What is a "Developing Country"?

According to Professor Sanders, development may be defined as "a special case of change in things which may be considered to be systems: when change occurred, development may be said to have occurred if one or more characteristics of the system has changed in a positive direction in terms of some valued criterion. The critical element of a definition of development, whether it is used with regard to economics, societies, or educational systems, is the criteria which are used to judge whether change in a positive direction indeed occurs."[4]

It often happens that a country remains as "developing" in one or several aspects, yet it might be "advanced" in one or several other aspects. We do believe that economy is certainly "an" important factor but not the "important" factor of developing a country. Just as we do not accept economic-determinism, so neither do we accept educational-determinism.

(B) One or Many Philosophies of Education?

History of education seems to tell us that philosophy of education has been rather pluralistic in those more advanced countries and it has remained rather singularistic in those so called less developed countries. Thus, theoretically to say, pluralistic philosophy of education seems to be preferable; practically, however, singularistic philosophy of education might be more recommendable for developing countries.

(C) Basic Elements of Building a National Philosophy of Education

Most of the developing countries of the world once were or probably still are, in one or another sense, subjects of Colonialism. Generally to say, before their independence there had been no philosophy of education but Western. After their independence, however, these emerging countries either still follow the colonial philosophy of education, provided by the Western imperialist powers, or these policies is objectively sound and they are not beneficial for the people of the respective developing countries.

In building up his own "Three Principles of the People", Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Republic of China, acknowledged three different sources of inspiration: (1) His old Chinese tradition, (2) his critical study of the Western civilization, and (3) his own creative ideas. We believe that these three sources might well be the very basic elements of building a national philosophy of education for developing countries. Thus, the three basic elements are: (1) The national tradition of the people, (2) the good ideas of the Western civilization, and (3) the creative ideas of the native leaders. Without the first, the national philosophy of education will be baseless; without the second, it will be hopeless; and without the third, it will be meaningless. It is under these three guidelines that the present author is going to discuss on a case study.

(II) A Case Study on Philosophy of Education: Observations and Reflections

Spending some six weeks this summer in Taiwan, the writer had the opportunity to interview some ten outstanding professors and educators concerning building a new national philosophy of education. The writer also had the honor to teach a course, based on his own outline, on philosophy of education to a group of teachers at Taipei Municipal Teachers College for Women. The following are his personal observations and reflections.

(A) On My Interviews

1. Nearly all the interviewed scholars emphasized the importance of including the old Chinese traditions, particularly that of Confucianism, in my new text. Most of them are in favor of combining both the Eastern and Western ideas of education. Only a few expressed their own new ideas of education.

2. When they were asked why there has been no text for a national philosophy of education except that of Western in China, the unanimous answer was: Those who wrote the text were mostly educated in the West. They learned Western philosophies of education and were simply ignorant of their Chinese traditions.

3. There are two outstanding educators who expressed their new ideas about education. One is Cardinal Paul Yu Ping, President of the Catholic University in China, and the other is Dr. Chang Chi-yun, President of Chinese Culture College. Although their new ideas are still in the stage of pregnancy, they are correspondent to the three basic elements mentioned above,

---

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 293.

thus it is very encouraging.

(B) On My Lectures

1. As a group, the Chinese students seem to be more "docile" than the American and Canadian students. However, they are less active participants in the classroom. This might be due to the fact that teachers' authority is highly esteemed there, class participation is almost unknown to them.

2. Though the text on philosophy of education is written in Chinese, yet the content is not 'Chinese'. John Dewey is the authority and even Confucius has no place in the text.

3. As a professor, I was very respectfully accepted by the students, but my lectures were never questioned or challenged. The lack of independent thinking from the part of students was very obvious and the fear of making mistakes was also evident.

Some Final Remarks

(1) Following the guideline of this World Congress, this paper is intentionally written short and incomplete that further comments and discussions may be made by our distinguished members.

(2) The outline of My Modern Philosophy of Education is designed and to be written in Chinese and for Chinese college students. It should not be viewed universally but nationally. As such, criticisms and suggestions are most welcome.

(3) The writer's experience in the planning of writing a text on philosophy of education as well as teaching the same course to the Chinese college students is but one experiment. It is the hope of this writer that more similar 'try-it-out' programs will be more carefully planned and more successfully carried out by other members of our society. We believe that such experiements will not only be beneficial for the developing countries, they will also be profitable for educational planners as well as for the co-workers in the field of comparative and international education.

THE NEED FOR INNOVATION IN EDUCATION

by

R.M. Miller

My main thesis is: the form and content of education as developed in the industrialized western world is inappropriate to the needs of less industrialized countries that now face urgent problems of development.

While I agree with my colleague, Dean Ernest Stabler, that some of the educational experiences and experiments of Canada may have application to the educational needs of other countries, I would suggest that Canadian educators, and, indeed, all the educators of the Western World, should have a large degree of humility as they approach the educational problems of other countries.

In the first place, traditional educational patterns, as they have developed over several centuries are proving to be increasingly inappropriate within the western world itself. Student demonstrations, scholarly reports detailing such things as the socio-economic loading of the educational process, and the complaints of concerned parents all indicate that within the very countries where the tradition has developed, long standing school practices are not necessarily valid. The age groups we call "grades"; adherence to a bookish tradition of learning divorced from urgent social and personal concerns; and even such specialized techniques as ability grouping are typical of school practices which seem either out of step with modern conditions of life or flagrantly at odds with research on learning problems.

If the traditional pattern of education is showing signs of strain in the very countries in which it was developed, it is even more likely to be a forced and inappropriate system for countries with vastly different social and economic conditions. I suggest that the less developed countries can be described as more rural and less industrialized as compared to the urban and industrialized nations of Europe and North America.

What relevance have the educational traditions of urban and industrialized societies for the educational needs of rural and less industrialized countries?

To this broad question let me add another consideration. The educational systems of the western world have probably been credited with a great deal more than they actually accomplished. Frankly we are not at all clear how much the technical society of the western world fostered education and how much education fostered the society.

As a simple example, note how understanding and experience in science, so much emphasized in western education, is also produced by conspicuous factors in the western environment. The society abounds with machines, some of them very complex; it is normal for young persons to be active in such pursuits as photography, amateur radio, tinkering with cars; and children use such intricate toys as mechano sets, electric trains, chemistry sets, and microscopes. All this technical activity, taken for granted as a part of life from the earliest stages, acquaints young people with ideas of causation, with methods of problem-solving, with the need for accurate observation. Can the school really take much credit for teaching a lot of science - and other subjects - to children so sustained and motivated during their pre-school and out-of-school time? Indeed, the major crisis in education in such countries as Canada and the United States stems from the fact that our schools and methods of instruction are so obviously inadequate for the less privileged members of our own society, who lack precisely such out-of-school influences as listed above.

Another broad generalization about the rural and less industrialized countries is that out-of-school influences of this highly technical type are lacking. Teaching science, and other subjects, may therefore be a vastly different task and may require much more on the part of the schools than is true in Europe and North America.

Related to my main thesis concerning the inappropriateness of western educational models for the less urbanized and less industrialized countries is the question of cost. As developing nations have more carefully examined the cost implications of their educational plans and as organizations such as the I.I.E.P. have carried out detailed cost-benefit studies, it has become clear that the linear expansion of existing systems of education is more expensive than anticipated. Socially and politically desirable objectives, such as universal primary education, are not going to be achieved as soon as had been hoped. Moreover, as more of the typical ways of improving education, e.g., reducing class sizes, improving the qualifications of teachers, and supplying more teaching material are also attempted, the overall cost of significant increases in enrollment rapidly becomes far higher than developing countries can readily afford.

The difficulties and the slow progress in education can be illustrated by reference to recent statistics. The latest UNESCO Statistical Yearbook indicates a primary enrollment ratio of 36.4 percent of the age group for all of Africa. Because of high wastage there is a significant difference between the enrollment ratio for all the years of primary school and the percentage of children completing four years of school - four years being the period UNESCO takes as the minimum required for attainment of permanent literacy. Given the present 21% drop-out rate, less than 25% of the age group will actually complete grade four.

The cumulative result of the difficulty of maintaining a significant percentage of pupils in school for four years is apparent in the slight change in the literacy rate over a twelve year period. The rate for Africa in 1950 was computed at 15 - 20 percent, while in 1962 the literacy rate was computed at 16 - 22 percent. This small change is even more discouraging in view of the effort that has been made. As was noted in a UNESCO document, "Trends in the Financing of Education in Certain African Countries." "In many African countries educational expenditure has now reached a level equal to or higher than that of 5.7% of the GDP, which was the figure envisaged for 1965 by the Addis Ababa Conference."

The human significance of such statistics can be pointed up by a statement from a foreign educational adviser with several years' service in Africa, and another statement from an African government official. The statements are from a consulting report by Anne de Luttre, "Notes on Experiments in Educational Reform in Four Francophone Countries of West Africa."

Foreign Adviser:-

> Instead of putting youngsters in a position to discover and define themselves and to raise questions, we foreigners come and propose recipes. We should be searching with all the resources of critical minds for new methods and new formulas together with Africans. Up to now, very little curriculum adaptation has been carried out. In some cases we have replaced encyclopedic programmes by different ones which are

> just as encyclopedic. New experiments are largely useless because they are punctual. Foreign technical assistants can only teach what they know, which is not what people need to know. Multilateral technical assistance personnel come with two-year contracts and move out when they begin to grasp the problems.
>
> We are giving out instruction but not education. The literates become removed from their people. We are fabricating small oligarchies which will be interested in maintaining their privileges.

Government official:-

> Let us look at my country. If we compare trends of school enrolment and urban population we see that the curves run closely parallel. But we know that the number of salaried workers is increasing slowly. Therefore the conclusion must be that the surplus urban population is not finding employment in proportion to its increase and its training. The risk is that education will soon appear as a machinery set up to produce more urban unemployed. Meanwhile, rural areas are being emptied of their most dynamic elements.

(1) The general argument, the statistics, and the comments so far presented all suggest that traditional types of educational programmes are too costly to reach the majority of the people in any significant degree (nor does it seem likely that the well publicized television education projects will signficantly alter this situation - although radio, as utilized in Radio Sututensa in Colombia, may be a more promising endeavour).

(2) Furthermore, traditional schools have usually been least effective in reaching the most numerous section of the population, that is, the rural population. Again there are exceptions to this pattern, as in Uganda where the first secondary schools were established away from the towns and continue to have a wide catchment area.

(3) Finally, the subject matter of traditional education has not been "development oriented" except in the sense that there may have been a simple assumption that learning was, in and of itself, an important contributor to development. The recent World Conference on Rural and Agricultural Education seriously debated the extent to which the emphasis on literacy in primary and adult education has been too simple-minded and not highly effective in fostering development.

The characteristics of innovations in education which may contribute more significantly to development may thus be summarized.

(i) lower unit cost, most likely to be achieved through new approaches in teacher training and the utilization of instructional personnel who are more specifically trained for more limited teaching functions in a better analyzed and more rationally organized instructional process.

(ii) recruitment of teaching personnel from the very areas where the educational effort must be expanded, i.e., the rural areas, this recruitment to be supported by a programme of training which also occurs in the rural areas, and which is centred on instructional material specific to those areas.

(iii) the instructional material, that is, the subject matter of education, will have to be made more locally relevant, through a process of curriculum building and testing carried out in the rural areas.

The gist of these remarks is that education must be localized in the finest sense of the word.

If education is thus to be made relevant to local conditions, our whole conception of education will require to be changed. Most of all, we must give up the notion that education is a kind of prescription, something worked out by experts to be administered to other people. The school, also, must no longer be thought of as a place where carefully set lessons are learned under the direction of special kinds of people who are responsible for complete control of the learners.

Indeed, an effective, "localized" education which served the community might not be carried on in a school at all, but, rather, in the fields, in village meetings, and in the homes. It would be an education which served various age groups and which was joined with various activities of life, and it would draw heavily on the knowledge and experience of local people. What could be more sensible, for example, than consulting with the best farmers in the region in order to decide how to incorporate agriculture into education?

For countries and agencies which provide technical assistance, such localization of education requires a basic change in the terms of assignment and the functions of technical assistance personnel. The technical adviser can no longer be conceived as an "expert" who, in a short term applies his experience and training in a new setting. Longer assignments will be required, and the responsibility of the technical adviser will be to join with local personnel in studying a particular situation and devising an educational programme to suit it. The basic task is not to supply critical manpower to an existing educational system, but to foster the development of new educational arrangements.

Vital to such a process will be the utilization of local experience and knowledge and sensitive response to local criticism. Call this "feedback" if you wish, but the essential point is that effective education must make sense to those who receive it and must relate to their aspirations and conditions of life. Learning is a reciprocal process, but in spite of our fondness for repeating such pleasant phrases, we continue to dose it out on the assumption that educators know best. The educational innovator must himself be a learner; he must have the confidence to give up familiar crutches such as textbooks and classrooms, and must be prepared to accept the possibility that material produced locally, possibly using a gestetner or a ditto machine, and which takes account of local conditions and terminology and which has been subjected to the scrutiny of knowledgeable local people, may be better than a bound textbook or a film imported from overseas.

One vital aspect of this approach to education is the emphasis on self-help. If we assume that the local community has valuable knowledge and experience and that people of good sense who may not have had the opportunity to acquire literacy can contribute to a process of community education, our conception of schooling and of the role of the teacher will be fundamentally changed.

The simplest summary of my view of the educational and development needs of the next decade, is that education must become more local and must have a larger component of self-help. Such education must be founded on faith in the ability of ordinary people to help themselves. I am doubtful of the efficacy of large, centralized educational programmes, and I do not expect educational miracles to be wrought by the introduction of television or by increased attention to specific techniques, such as the development of audio-visual aids. I place my hopes on a larger involvement of people in education, upon a broader recognition of the educative possibilities of community and vocational activities.

It has been said that "war is too important to be left to the generals", and I equally feel that education is too important to be left to the educators. If ordinary folk - low level manpower - cannot be utilized in some limited educational functions and cannot directly contribute to the development of an education relevant to their needs and conditions, the situation is virtually hopeless. All the existing evidence suggests that we have not the manpower nor the resources to continue transmitting education in the traditional way, that is, from experts in urban and industrialized centres to the masses.

BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL EDUCATION EXCHANGE PROGRAMS - NEW ZEALAND'S ROLE

by

W.J.D. Minogue

I Perspective and Context

Before analysing the main trends in New Zealand's educational exchange programs, let us first survey the various types of government-aided programs. This perspective is needed because New Zealand's best-known exchange program, both within New Zealand and abroad, the Colombo Plan, is often thought of as the basket into which we have placed all our government-aided exchange programs.

The Colombo Plan is the one best known, because it has been established longer and has had more spent on it (approximately $40,000,000) than any other single exchange program in New Zealand. Yet it is in fact only one of a number which together are now absorbing several times as much money annually as the Colombo Plan does. The following survey omits several of the less significant government-aided programs as well as many well-established private ones, such as Rotary, Young Farmers, and the American Field Service scheme, even though most of them do in fact receive much invisible support from the educational tax dollar - especially those that include study at State high schools.

II The Survey

1. New Zealand Aid to the South Pacific

Historically, geographically, and culturally, New Zealand is a part of the South Pacific area. Most of New Zealand's aid in the South Pacific is concentrated on those island groups with which it has had the longest and closest association - the Cook Islands, Niue, the Tokelaus and Western Samoa. During the year ended 31 March, 1969, more than $3,000,000 was spent on aid to these three territories alone.

In addition, New Zealand has given much help to Fiji and Tonga under a co-operative scheme for recruiting New Zealand teachers to serve in their schools.

In 1967, New Zealand made a gift to the regional University of the South Pacific in Fiji of all the buildings and facilities of the former R.N.Z.A.F. base at Lauthala Bay. Through this gift, the new university is amply provided with suitable buildings and a spacious campus entirely without cost. Further aid has since been given to the University of the South Pacific by New Zealand through the establishment of a bursary scheme to enable students from the English-speaking South Pacific territories to study at this university.

Under the Commonwealth Education scheme Mutual Aid Program, New Zealand makes awards for the professional education of teachers, not only from Fiji and Tonga but also from the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, the Solomons and the New Hebrides.

All these territories receive further indirect aid through New Zealand's contribution to the budgets of the United Nations, Unesco and other United Nations specialized agencies - especially the World Health Organization and the Food and Agricultural Organization, New Zealand, too, has made substantial contributions, both in leadership and money, to the operation of the South Pacific Commission.

Further, New Zealand provides significant non-governmental aid in the South Pacific through Volunteer Service Abroad, which annually sends about 80 young people to the islands - most of whom teach in island schools - as well as providing a degree of technical expertise, especially in agriculture and the building trades.

2. The Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan

Commonly known as SCAAP, this program originated at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London in 1960. The aim was to assist the economic development of Commonwealth countries in Africa. Aid was to be arranged on a bi-lateral basis or by increased support of existing international organizations, taking the form of technical assistance or capital aid.

Since 1961, New Zealand has spent over $1,000,000 on SCAAP. Up to 1969, 180 Africans had come to New Zealand on SCAAP scholarships - mostly on university courses in agriculture - but including a few other professional schools and teachers who have taken Arts and Science degrees.

New Zealand has also sent technical experts to African countries to assist in projects of the following kind:

(i) The training of African foresters in Kenya. In 1965 the leader of the New Zealand team of experts was appointed project manager of the British-financed Forest Industrial Training Centre at Nakuru. Four years later the New Zealand foresters, saw-doctors, mill-wrights and logging officers were replaced by African understudies who took over complete management of the scheme.

(ii) A new Atlas of Kenya initiated by a New Zealand cartographer.

(iii) New milk schemes in both Mombasa and Tanzania.

(iv) Advice on teacher-training by experts sent to the Malawi Correspondence College.

(v) Trade training advice in Nigeria.

(vi) A major capital equipment grant of New Zealand-made agricultural equipment, such as mowers, harrows, ploughs, harvesters and dairying equipment, sent to Zambia.

(vii) The Government of Ghana has established a school dental service after the New Zealand model. In this case the technical expertise sent to Ghana was provided by seventeen Ghanaian girls who had completed courses at New Zealand dental clinics.

On a recent re-assessment of New Zealand's aid priorities, it has been decided that the SCAAP program will be continued, even though most attention will in future be given to the South Pacific and to Asia.

3. The Commonwealth Education Scheme

Originating at the Trade and Economic Conference held in Montreal in 1958, the idea of the Commonwealth Education Scheme has become a flourishing reality. One of its main features is the award of over 1,000 University Scholarships and Fellowships annually.

Up to 1969, New Zealand had provided university places for 84 Commonwealth Scholars, mostly at the post-graduate level, from 21 different Commonwealth countries.

Even so, reciprocity has not yet been achieved, as 155 New Zealand students have been granted awards under the Scholarship and Fellowship Plan for post-graduate study overseas: 77 to the United Kingdom, 47 to Canada, 22 to Australia, 3 to Malaysia, 4 to India and one each to Nigeria and Jamaica.

It is under the less prestigious Mutual Aid program of the Commonwealth Education Scheme that New Zealand has been able to restore the balance. Up to 1969, 170 training awards had been granted to technical trainees while 49 students had enrolled in teachers' colleges, which now offer a three-year course. In addition, 64 practicing teachers from 21 Commonwealth countries and territories had undertaken special three-month courses in teaching methods in New Zealand. In a variety of other ad hoc short courses, teachers and administrators, mostly from Africa, South-East Asia and Pacific, have benefitted from our experience.

New Zealand is a young country, fiercely egalitarian in outlook and determined to offer to every child, whatever his ability, an education in accordance with his aptitude and to the fullest extent of his powers. Consequently we have lived from crisis to crisis in building and staffing our schools, so that the problems of the developing countries, especially in striving to reconcile qualitative and quantitative values, are reflected in our own educational way of life. One hopes that it is not mere chauvinism that prompts the belief that the adaptable, "do-it-yourself" attitude, inherited by the New Zealand teacher from his pioneering grandfathers, is a source of inspiration and sound practical example to colleagues from the developing countries.

4. The Colombo Plan

The Colombo Plan's main purpose is to help promote the economic development of the member countries of South and South East Asia. In the pursuit of this main purpose, however, the educational exchange of students of different ages from the 24 participant countries has created a marked improvement in international understanding and goodwill.

The public support for this program in New Zealand may be illustrated by the fact that when a doubling of the annual New Zealand appropriation from $2,000,000 to $4,000,000 was announced in 1969, the decision was enthusiastically supported throughout New Zealand. despite our own bleak economic prospects at that time.

New Zealand's bi-lateral assistance under the Colombo Plan has been concentrated in those areas in which New Zealand has most to offer - dairying and agriculture, education, trade training and English language instruction, surveying and certain branches of engineering.

The grand total spent on capital aid alone up to 1969 was $21,609,337. It is paradoxical, from the standpoint of political strategy that a small part of this - the gift of $500,000 towards the cost of the Faculty of Agriculture - appears to have been more keenly appreciated in Malaysia than the far greater sums spent on the hundreds of Malaysian students who have been brought to study at New Zealand universities under the Colombo Plan. An agricultural college is tangible and visible evidence of cheerful giving. The graduates educated in New Zealand, by contrast, tend to be out of sight and therefore out of the Malaysian public mind. No doubt, there has been some enlightened self-interest motivating the doubling of the New Zealand budget for the Colombo Plan, but it is symptomatic of the idealism and genuine altruism behind our efforts that despite the overcrowding at our own universities and technical institutes, which has forced admissions to be limited in many of the professional schools, we have still found room for over 3,000 Colombo Plan students and other trainees in these educational institutions since the Colombo Plan began. The number studying under this program in New Zealand at the tertiary level at the end of 1969 was approximately 600.

Further, it is an accepted principle that although the number of foreign students at our larger and most sought-after universities is limited to approximately 5%, all Colombo Plan students are guaranteed a place. Indeed, in at least one of the professional schools, the proportion of foreign students is at present approximately 20% of the total enrolment.

In addition to granting capital aid and providing education and training in New Zealand, technical assistance by sending experts, advisers and consultants abroad has been maintained. For example, at the beginning of 1970, there was a 23-man road construction team in Thailand, 15 civilian hospital personnel in Qui Nhon, Vietnam, and 6 teachers in Malaysia. In all, there are usually about 70 long-term experts sent overseas by New Zealand in diverse fields ranging from agriculture to telecommunications and urban valuation.

The over-all picture of the Colombo Plan is that the original policies, involving capital aid, educational exchange and technical assistance, have been sustained and are likely to be continued. As with the other aid programs, however, flexibility and innovation will continue as bi-lateral discoveries are made of the ways in which help can best be given.

5. MARA and ASPAC Scholarships

The Colombo Plan has provided the prototype for two recently established plans for bringing additional students to New Zealand from Malaysia (the Mara Plan) and the members of the Asian and Pacific Council. Since 1968, 58 students have entered from Malaysia, while the first Aspac Scholars from Thailand, the Republic of China, Korea and Malaysia were in residence in 1970, studying a variety of courses.

III Trends in the Exchange Programs

The following trends are emerging:

1. The most obvious over-all trend is towards careful evaluation of the various programs. Until recently, New Zealand has tried to meet all the requests made by recipient countries as best we could. Now we are tending to offer what we are best at. As a result of this evaluation the technical assistance programs are being strengthened.

2. While the formal undergraduate courses are being continued there is a definite trend to offer more short-term courses designed to develop technical competence.

3. While maintaining commitments already made elsewhere, New Zealand's aid in future will show a greater concentration on the Pacific and South East Asian areas.

4. Despite the new emphasis on short-term technical courses, the demand from overseas students for university places continues to grow. This has shown a marked upsurge since Australian policies recently become more restrictive.

Owing to internal pressures from growing numbers of New Zealand undergraduates and the continued overseas demand, the prospects are that the door may be less wide open to private students from overseas. Beginning in 1971, applicants from Asian countries, for example, will be required to pass an English language test in their own countries as a pre-condition of admission.

In 1970, there were more than 3,000 overseas students who had been admitted to New Zealand privately for study at universities, secondary schools, technical institutes and private business colleges. As the studies of these students are heavily subsidised by the tax-payer, even private students could be seen as part of New Zealand's aid program.

5. In order to maintain the commitment to accept government-aided university students from the developing countries, a trend towards offering an increasing proportion of places to graduates is emerging, even though undergraduates may continue to predominate - especially from Malaysia, Vietnam and Singapore.

6. Although New Zealand is merely a dwarf alongside the giants among the donor countries, the efforts made to date are a source of satisfaction to internationally-minded New Zealanders. An increasing proportion of the Gross National Product is being expended on overseas aid. Government expenditure is at present calculated at approximately 0.30%, but if private aid is taken into account the total aid given is about 0.45%. Our acknowledged commitment is to move steadily towards the "one percent" target.

7. Officially classed as a donor country, at the post graduate level of educational exchange we have received more than we have given - especially from the United Kingdom and Canada. In this respect we say in Maori, "Haeremai" - we should like you to come.

Acknowledgement: Most of the factual information in the above account has been derived from various documents published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and kindly provided by Miss Barbara Angus, formerly of the External Aid Division, New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

THE ROLE AND RATIONALE FOR EDUCATIONAL AID IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Reginald Murray

The following three principles should be regarded as fundamental:-

(1) That a principal purpose of aid should be to enhance the quality of education in all the senses of this term.

(2) That in the achievement of this purpose it is indispensable to place new focus on the improvement of educational management and systems.

(3) That receiver countries should, to as large an extent as possible, participate in determining and planning the use of aid and in evaluating the effects of aid programmes.

Role and Rationale

It is not easy as it might appear to make clear distinctions between motives of aid and aid rationale, and whilst we should reject political and economic self-interest[1] on the part of a donor country as the major rationale it should be useful to notice the hackneyed truth that if a world society really exists, with the good things of life being visibly and dramatically mal-distributed in it the peace and security of all are endangered. In other words, if education is an important function of economic growth, world society is being denied the contribution to general welfare which the poorer countries might make if by education and other means they too could become affluent. The richer they .... become and the more modern their taste, the more motor cars, radios, television sets and air-conditioners they buy from the rich countries already far ahead in the economic race. Yet basic rationale should be looked for not in this, but in the potential of well directed aid to stimulate the "internal transformation"[2] of education systems so that they become really efficacious, so that their effects on entire populations will rapidly become such as the optimistic protagonists of education claim for it and so that, simply put, the world may truly become a better place.

---

[1] See Effective Aid, O.D.I. London 1966, p. 101.

[2] Final Report of the working groups of the International Conference on the World Crisis in Education. Williamsburg, Virginia, 1967.

The role of aid so far has consisted in such endeavours as "priming the pump", or giving thrust to an educational take off; providing finance to generate some desirable growth while the recipient prepares to "phase-into" responsibility for subsequent costs; topping up or providing enrichment, or strengthening structures needing fresh resources; training; and introducing a qualitative element, including methodological innovations.

Aid must, however, prepare to move into a new era of quality, stimulations; and research and evaluation must be used as instruments for enhancing development. Not enough help is channelled for these two purposes. More should be done by way of exhibiting the essentials of a well formed, well run institution, or showing how certain parts of an education system might be placed on secure foundations. As Cerych points out, external aid could provide this kind of demonstration by "helping to create and run centres of excellence from which innovation and qualitative improvement will spread throughout the educational system."[1]

Quality has wide connotations. I intend here, for example, that sense of the word standard that suggests some meaningful equation between the face value of school leaving certificates and their actual value. Quality, too, is inseparable from the question of variety of the course offerings that ought to be made available to the pupils in a school system, and a balance between the offerings in which cognizance is taken of man-power needs. Quality involves a promotion of desirable attitudes, taking into account the goals of the society. Implied too, is the meaning that teachers are adequately educated and that their teaching is efficacious.

Socio Economic Factors

Among the factors that menace the effectiveness of external aid is cultural dissimilarity between the two sides. Donors bring what they have and know. The awareness that for each recipient there must be a peculiar strategy[2] of aid can help avert the worst errors of approach such as those parodied by Lederer and Burdick. But if aid is to serve the best interests of the recipient, it must be accompanied with more than this awareness. The history, sociology and mood of the recipient must be understood, and since this desideratum is rarely fulfilled - even where aid personnel have been planted in the recipient territory long enough for them to appreciate its operational style - on the one side a great deal of sensitivity is called for, and on the other, self-awareness and toughness of mind. (Operational aid personnel who are limited to 2-year terms often end up with little to show for their efforts; it takes most people a year to get their bearings.) Length of tour is one factor. People are never culture-free and many who have a capacity for empathy, tend to understand in terms not indigenous to the society they are serving and to conceive of solutions to problems in their own idioms of action. A creative reception for aid must include strength enough to manoeuvre: receiving should not be just passive posturing. Local ideas for improving an aid operation should be encouraged. Aid should in fact involve during the life of a programme continuous dialogue between donor and recipient.

If persons cannot be culture-free, neither in a sense can dollars or pounds or francs or yens. Bilateral aid even when not "tied", by agreement, to the goods and personnel of the country where it originates is rarely free for use in ways determined solely by the recipient's needs. An example of free use is in aid programmes "whereby a rich country finances an exchange of skills between two poor countries."

Bilateral and Multilateral Programmes

In certain fields and disciplines the most appropriate experience is not necessarily available in the donor country. For reasons similar to this, as well as for reasons far more general - for example the ideological-international or even multi-national aid is often preferable to bilateral assistance. The special place of bilateral aid cannot, however, be denied, as for example, where an ex-colonial education pseudo-system,[3] having followed a particular model, remains highly susceptible to borrowings from that model.

As has been pointed out again and again, offers of aid can, in the totality, present a confusing situation. When they are all channelled through a single receiving organ, adequate rationalization is possible; but aid comes not only through government-to-government contacts, but to government as well as independent organizations from external non-government and even government-assisted sources. Conferences among donors do sometimes reduce the degree of confusion. But responsibility for co-ordination ultimately rests with the recipient who should set up aid-co-ordinating committees with government and non-government representation. In this way unnecessary duplicating of projects would be minimised and frilly and burdensome aid would not be light-heartedly accepted. Furthermore, the less developed countries would avoid having to "explain its problems over and over to each potential suppliers of assistance."[1]

---

[1] Page 203, Problems of Aid to Education in Developing Countries.

[2] This point is briefly discussed in Aid to Education: An Anglo-American Appraisal. O.D.I. London, 1965.

[3] I use the term pseudo-system to refer to an educational 'system' which is rudimentary and which has no adequate means, if any, for safe-guarding efficiency.

Planning and Programmes

In Third World dreams of social and economic transformation, educational expansion has played a great part. The dreams have been sharpened by such events as the Addis Ababa Plan and the Asian and Latin American equivalents of it. Expansion has, however, been frequently attended by disappointment as regards results. It may be that certain imperatives upon which transformation is conditional have not been observed even if they were foreseen. One such imperative was voiced by Professor Paul Mercier: "A prerequisite for success," he warned, is "research into the social and cultural features of the country concerned and of the people amongst whom it is proposed to implement the educational programme."[2] Another prerequisite for success is that planning should have inbuilt ways of counteracting or eliminating important factors that militate against quality; but these factors may constitute variables that are difficult if not impossible to control, a major one being the character of the management systems that often obtain.

Management problems are manifested in peculiar ways in countries where the political situation suffers from instability or new-found independence from colonial masters is yet insecure and self-conscious. As Cerych points out, "it is natural and even essential for the donor to concern himself with the effectiveness of his aid,"[3] but Cerych is prudently mindful of the fact that "Education is one of the fields in which limitations on national sovereignity are least acceptable."[4]

In countries recently adopting modern techniques of government, such instruments must develop slowly, and adequate aid must be channelled into the development. The ex-colonial countries never did possess complete systems of education - they had pseudo-systems in which many of the sub-systems that had been in process of formation in the developed countries were unknown or rudimentary - such as units for data collecting and processing, for planning, for all forms of pupil guidance, for curriculum development and reform, for research of all kinds, for evaluation, for preparing instructions materials, for technical and vocational education, and even for effective supervision and pedagogical consultation.

In the ex-colonial pseudo-systems, the directives were principally regulatory and often inhibitive to growth. The whole apparatus had to be taken over with independence and quickly revised; but the process of revision has lagged behind the need for it, and the new codes emerging are full of gaps and imperfections. Meanwhile, new sub-systems are being added without the means for proper articulation and integration with the old. The loss of quality in these conditions is palpable.

The time has come to examine the defects and to re-think the philosophy of planning as it has developed over the past decade. If a good plan must produce output of predictable quality, what criteria must it meet? Given the conditions in which plans invariably operate in developing countries - absence of certain traditions of efficiency and shortage of qualified personnel - what are the limits to what is achievable by planning?

One of the aspects of the problem of management is the absence of comprehensive, workable and internally consistent instruments of administration. Bearing in mind the important contribution being made to the development of good administration by centres such as I.I.E.P. how can one plan against unsound management?

Management reform could be a long term process, but where necessary ways should be found to promote the institutionalization of those procedures, without which aid is a form of carrying water in a basket.

---

[1] Remark attributed to Willard Thorpe; quoted from Annual Review, Canada External Aid Office - 1966-67.

[2] Page 81, Annex IV of the Final Report of the Addis Ababa Conference, 1961.

[3] See problems of Aid to Education in Developing Countries, p. 203.

[4] Ibid.

Far more studies should be undertaken in universities and elsewhere on problems of educational management; far more effort should be made through conferences and seminars to demonstrate to senior executive personnel, including Ministers, that it is in their own interest in the long run, not to substitute decisions of expediency for enlightened administrative procedures.

Technical and Professional Needs

A common feature in developing countries is the scarcity of specialised skills cultivated, say, at a university. I refer to skills such as research design, psychological measurement, statistics, skills relating to remedial work in reading, or to mathematics or science or language teaching, or to audio-visual aids, particularly that family of innovations known as the new technology. People highly qualified in particular academic subjects, in administration, and in a host of general and theoretic fields, are easy to come by; but in the essential narrower specialisms, no. Redressing the balance should, where necessary, become a conscious national objective of foremost importance, and donors should consider how best to give support to it. The modernization process is a mirage unless a sufficiency of specialized skills is developed in a new country and remains there. Too often of course, there is a drain to the very countries from which aid is expected. So there is a two-way movement, and it is to be gravely doubted whether on balance many a developing country is not in fact getting the lesser benefit from this free exchange. Couldn't arrangements be made to utilize in some way in the formation and execution of programmes, suitable nationals of a recipient country wherever they may be available?

A special word deserves to be said on the role of the "new technologies". Enthusiasm about their general potential ought to be tempered with realism. Soon, it appears, educators of the Third World will become dizzy with a kaleidoscope of gadgetry they cannot afford. There must be a coming to terms; each country must base its definition of modernization on the realities[1] of its own situation. UNESCO is perhaps the organization most conveniently placed to assist poor countries in making cold appraisals of claims put forward by manufacturers for many of the "new technologies".

---

[1] Cf. Time for a change of Strategy - by Philip H. Coombs in Qualitative Aspects of Educational Planning, UNESCO/I.I.E.P., p. 31.

THE ROLE AND RATIONALE OF EDUCATIONAL AID
IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL AID

(Address by Mr. A.C. Mwingira to the World Congress
of Comparative Education Societies,
17th - 21st August, 1970, in Ottawa).

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I would like to record at the outset my appreciation of the honour conferred upon me by the invitation of the organisers of this Conference to speak on the vital issue of educational aid. The subject is, of course, one of intimate concern to both donor and recipient countries. It is a special aspect of the general problem of aid, which has once again come acutely before the nations of the world on the threshold of the Second United Nations Development Decade.

In this general context, it has been discussed in great detail by the Commission on International Development under the Chairmanship of Canada's great elder statesman, Mr. Lester Pearson. In its multilateral aspects, it has been the subject of an exhaustive "Study of the Capacity of the United Nations Development System" carried out with characteristic thoroughness and challenge by Sir Robert Jackson. Although they undoubtedly raise some issues on which international agreement will be difficult to achieve, these authoritative surveys have served to bring out into the open many of the vital issues posed by international aid and by the intimate problems of the aid relationship.

Nowhere are these problems more clearly visible than in the educational field. For education is in a very real sense "personal" to the country. It is closely bound up with the social values and political aspirations of the people and linked to the economic and social framework. It is, therefore, one of the most "domestic" of activities in any country and bears the stamp of that country's personality. Any proposal for educational aid, therefore, raises in an acute form the question of the influence that any such aid might have on the generating source of the country's vitality and cultural values.

Furthermore, in a country like Tanzania, it is necessary to pause and consider whether a request for external educational assistance is compatible with the self-reliant principles, which are considered so important for the creation of a healthy society. As President Nyerere has written, education "must encourage the development of a proud independent and free citizenry, which relies upon itself for its own development."

Decisions about educational aid are not, therefore, simple decisions. Though specific needs may exist, which external aid could help to alleviate, it does not automatically follow that it will seem right to ask for it. The first emphasis must always be on the responsibility of the people of the country for meeting the need by their own efforts.

Considerations of this kind sometimes create misunderstandings in the minds of donors and give an impression of lukewarmness on the part of the recipient country. They encounter what appears to them to be an ambivalent attitude, combining enthusiasm for the project with a certain shyness of any aspect of it, which might seem to limit the country's responsibility for its own affairs. Donors very naturally want to ensure that the results of their aid will be as useful as possible and may press for conditions that furnish some guarantee of good educational practice. Recipient countries may find it difficult to reconcile such conditions with their own responsibility for educational standards, or their convictions about appropriate educational principles and procedures.

Thus, educational aid cannot be assessed in purely economic terms, like a factory, or an irrigation scheme, because of the influence that such aid could have on the character of the educational system and on the exercise of local responsibility for education. The feeling of national identity and national purpose, instincts which are extremely active in newly dependent countries, induce a solicitous care for the institutions and environment of education. In African countries, the upbringing of the young was traditionally a responsibility of the community or clan and something of that tradition survives in the conviction that education ought to be controlled by the community itself and to become an expression of community values and beliefs. In modern conditions, these inherited ideas are often sublimated and rationlised in terms of national control and government responsibility.

These problems show that not only ends, but means, are of great importance in evaluating the benefits of an aid proposal. It might seem very effective, if a donor were to lavish not only capital finance, but also expert skills and managerial talents on some project of proven value to the recipient country. But so complete an assumption of responsibility by the donor could damage the mechanism of responsibility and control established by the country for its own educational system.

An example may perhaps bring home the importance of means as distinct from ends, in weighing the merits of an aid proposal. There have been examples in the history of aid in which donor nations in their generosity have assumed total responsibility for a particular institution, including the planning and financing of the premises, the design of the curriculum and the initial staffing of the project. Where such an institution is unique and is new to the country - a technical college, for example - there seems at first sight much to be said for such a plan of operation. Foreign experience and expertise is communicated in the form of a living institution, a visible sample of what can be done.

But most donor countries now realise that this kind of aid is unsatisfactory. For one thing, it is based on a foreign model, which may well be inappropriate in its new surroundings. But more important is the lack of participation by the people of the country in the genesis of the new institution. As onlookers, they are not carried up into the process of creation and have not shared in the problems and anxieties of the creators. In the end, the new institution is not really and truly theirs. Only by assuming the eventual responsibility for development, both in general and in detail, can they ensure that it is fully and appropriately integrated in the life of the nation.

My approach to the question of external aid, therefore, takes as its starting point the proposition, that all educational development is inalienably the duty and the responsibility of the national or local community concerned. What, then, is the function of external aid?

There was a slogan in England during the last war that well expresses the spirit in which aid should be considered. "Give us the tools and we will finish the job." This does not mean: "Come and do the job and we will stand around until you have done it." It means that we intend, and are determined, to do it anyway, only we lack certain essential means and you can help us by providing them. Such help may take the form of development capital, a commodity always in short supply in countries with narrow revenue margins and enormous investment needs. It may constitute expertise of a kind not available in the recipient country, always provided that the advisory role of the expert is clearly understood. Occasionally, it may involve the provision of an executive skill, where careful arrangements can be made for its integration within the responsibility pattern of the country concerned. Finally, it may simply consist of teachers in short supply, particularly those professing subjects not directly concerned with the life history and experience of the people; that is, in general, with the natural sciences rather than the social sciences.

Thus, external education aid should always be regarded as a "topping up" process, something added to what is already present, or already planned to be provided. Yet it may be a vital ingredient, indeed it generally is, and donor countries can certainly have the very genuine satisfaction of realising that they are able to supply an essential component, without which development would be much hampered, or even frustrated. If the purpose of aid is defined, as the Pearson Report suggested, as enabling a developing country to achieve self-sustaining growth, then no aid is more important than educational aid. And no educational aid is more significant than that which provides the missing link in the chain of development forged by the developing country concerned.

One other aspect of aid deserves special mention and has to do with the traffic in ideas. There is a danger that, in laying such stress on the importance of local responsibility and concern, I may have given an impression of insularity, a sort of intellectual self-sufficiency in educational thought, protected by barriers against the importation of foreign ideas. I do not mean to give such an impression. Speaking for Tanzania, I can say with confidence that the commerce of ideas is as important to us as it is to any developed country.

We have no illusions about the composite nature of all educational systems and practices. No country in the world can possibly claim to have an educational system, which is purely a native growth and all systems are, to a greater or lesser degree, a synthesis of local and external elements. We freely admit and acknowledge the English origins and continuing affinities of our own system, though we are continually modifying it in accordance with our own insights and convictions. Some time ago, we sent a number of our leading educators to North Korea to study the practices of a friendly developing country. North Korea had the advantage of being a little further down the road than ourselves, but not so far ahead as to limit the relevance of much that has there been attempted and achieved. It was also a country which cultivated similar notions to ourselves about the importance of self-reliant activities.

We have no intention of simply going over to the North Korean system. That system is itself a hybrid, like our own, with, I suspect, a clearly visible Japanese background. But our direct and stimulating contact with the Koreans and our observation of the ways in which they have tackled the problems of education in the context of their own social and economic development was highly suggestive to us in a number of ways. It set up trains of thought and suggested comparisons, that will in the course of time bear fruit in our own educational response to the challenge of development.

I have mentioned our contact with North Korea as an example of external aid in ideas. It is not the only example that I could mention from our experience and I can assure you that this is a form of communication in which the developing countries are eager to participate. The more they know about the practical experience of each other and of the rest of the world, the more intelligently they will be able to tackle their own problems. But, as in the case of material aid, the fruitfulness of aid in ideas depends on the ability of the people of the developing countries themselves to evaluate the experience coming to them from abroad in local terms and to incorporate it into their own thinking.

One special aspect of aid in ideas is assistance with educational research. Such research is of immense importance to developing countries, who are tackling new problems in a new context, and the findings of some of the research carried out in developed countries can have but limited application. It must, however, be admitted that much of the research that needs doing - into behaviour problems, for example - involves a degree of familiarity with local life, that an outsider seldom possesses. It follows that in many fields, involving an intimate knowledge of the country and its people, an external component is often most usefully supplied in the person of a foreign specialist to work as a member of a local team. Such an arrangement, by "topping up" local resources, can often make use of scarce skills brought in from outside in a way that is likely to contribute most beneficially to the investigation of local problems.

Having dealt in general terms with the role of educational aid in a developing country, it now remains to consider the various forms in which it is offered. Both bilateral and multilateral forms of aid are employed, though the former predominates. So far as I know, no exact assessment has been made of the relative amounts of educational aid organised on a bilateral and multilateral basis, but in aid as a whole, bilateral forms predominate and account for nearly 90% of the total.

In the multilateral category, the most significant contribution to technical assistance has been made by UNDP and the various Specialised Agencies, notably UNESCO, but since 1962 the International Development Association has also made a major contribution to the financing of educational development by providing loans for school building on easy terms. On balance, most developing countries prefer the multilateral approach. It appears to them to offer a safeguard against any possible risk of political involvement and in the case of the non-committed countries, it avoids any suspicion of special relationship. Multilateral aid also has a number of practical advantages, which in some circumstances can be of considerable importance. Recruitment to the staff of a university faculty, for example, is often more successfully accomplished on a multinational basis owing to the wider range of choices of suitable candidates. Special teams for the accomplishment of defined educational goals, of the type of the UNESCO science teachers' training project in Tanzania, might often seem better organised on a national basis, so as to ensure a sense of common purpose. In practice, however, teams drawing their members from a variety of countries have in our experience been surprisingly successful.

But the most important practical advantage of the multi-lateral bodies lies in their greater resources of personnel for the assessment and evaluation of project proposals. Outstanding in this respect is the World Bank. A recent decision by the Bank to send regular economic review missions to evaluate the situation and the prospects of the economy of developing countries ensures that information is available, which is recognised to be of increasing importance in the planning of educational services. Only a body with the prestige and the resources of the Bank can hope to undertake such a task. If, following the advice of the Jackson Report, the member nations of the UN decided to make possible a unified approach to aid by all UN agencies on the basis of each country's development plan, economic reviews of this type would form essential material for decisions about aid of all kinds, including aid to education.

But despite the notable advantages of the multilateral approach, two interconnected disadvantages of this source of aid must be recorded. The first is the ponderous nature of international machinery and the long delays now often experienced in reaching the operational stage. The second drawback affects mainly the operations of the Bank and consists in the detailed controls which the Bank considers necessary for the proper safeguarding of its resources.

These controls in our experience include the programming of educational projects in detail at the Bank's Headquarters in Washington and the prescription of procedures relating to the appointment of consultants and the choice of contractors, which leave little or nothing to the discretion of the receiving country and impose on its Government a considerable administrative burden. It is true that in some cases the onus on the Government is relieved by the appointment of a firm of consultants as project administrators, but even where this is done, it cannot overcome the disadvantages of centralised planning of individual projects, using standards of accommodation devised and approved by the Bank for universal application.

These universal standards are themselves, in our opinion, a mistake. There is everything to be said for deploying the results of comparative costs studies, and for assembling on a comparative basis the result of the Bank's observations about various educational practices; but to reduce these results to norms with universal application must impose on school building a rigidity, which makes insufficient allowance for the very varying circumstances of different countries. Standardisation of the factors involved in educational development programmes is no doubt an attractive idea to comparative cost analysis but it renders such programmes unresponsive to the exigencies of a particular nation's situation at a particular juncture in its educational growth.

The Bank's anxiety to secure its resources against inefficient use is, of course, entirely understandable and as members of the Bank we can only approve of such prudence. But the attempt to save money by detailed centralised control of educational projects is, in our experience, to a large extent self-frustrating. Time does not stand still and during the considerable interval in which the Bank is doing its homework the educational situation is apt to change. New decisions on curriculum may be taken, that have some effect on project proposals. Project items may have to be modified, because work has had to be completed, which could not wait. In short, the longer the time absorbed by the detailed processing of proposals in Washington, the greater the likelihood that the project proposals will themselves need some modification. No country can put its educational system into suspense for a year or more, while the Bank is working out the detailed implications of a programme.

Detailed control from Washington means that changes, however slight, imposed by the passage of time have to be referred to Washington. Time-consuming correspondence is unavoidable and new calculations have to be made in the academic aloofness of the distant headquarters. Even errors in the Bank's arithmetic call for intercontinental discussion and delay the final outcome. Despite the ease of communication bestowed by radio telegraph and telephone, it is our experience shared, I believe, by other developing countries, that a highly centralised system of project control is unwieldy, time consuming and costly.

What is clearly required is a built-in provision for flexibility. If I might venture to make a suggestion, it would be to recommend in the first place a greater use of the Bank's Regional offices and the furnishing of these offices with a measure of discretion in considering, and approving, detailed modifications of the programme.

But such advantages could only be realised if the Bank were willing to modify its present practice of making detailed cost calculations in Washington. These calculations, though possibly self-consistent, are not, in our experience, necessarily realistic and I do not believe that they secure any financial economies. On the contrary, the system probably produces marked diseconomies in many cases. Governments on the spot, with their expert advisers, are much better equipped to make realistic cost calculations quickly and objectively than any distant bureaucracy can hope to achieve.

In making this criticism of what appear to be the unduly rigid and centralised procedures of the Bank, I must not give the impression of insensitivity to the extreme importance attached by the Bank to the exhaustive scrutiny of projects in the full context of a nation's economy. Enquiry into the suitability and viability of projects is clearly important and as much in the interests of the receiving country as of the bank. Friendly and informed criticism, international comparisons and the stimulus of new educational ideas are all important for the purpose of getting the most out of limited resources and it is this kind of service that the Bank's officers, with their ever growing experience, will increasingly be able to offer to developing countries. These are among the potential advantages of the multilateral approach which adds to its attraction for the purposes of educational aid.

But having said these things in favour of the multilateral bodies, it is necessary to draw attention to certain advantages possessed by a bilateral donor. In general, such donors are quicker to react to programme proposals and follow simpler procedures. Their assessment of projects tends to be less influenced by set standards than that of the Bank, which makes them more ready to consider the idiosyncracies of a particular educational system. This more direct approach is, of course, attractive to recipient countries because it helps to ensure that the projects will fit in with their precise needs and circumstances. In general, the greater flexibility, the quicker response, and the less onerous procedures of the bilateral donors do confer certain practical advantages, which are appreciated in the developing countries and which are of considerable importance in enabling them to meet their planning commitments.

However, certain recent tendencies in bilateral practice are not so favourable. The partial tying of aid to imports from the donor country and the use of donor consultants, who may very well lack any experience of educational building in the recipient country, often tend unnecessarily to put up the cost of a project chargeable to the aid provided and in this way to diminish the value of the aid. According to the Pearson Report, individual country studies have disclosed additions to the cost caused by tying, which frequently exceed 20%. In addition to the cost disadvantages of tying, the practice is sometimes found to involve the recipient country in complicated administrative procedures and delays in execution, which are liable to impede the timely fulfilment of the development objective.

Some of the advantages of a multilateral approach can be secured by the association of two or more bilateral donors in consortia, an arrangement particularly favoured by the Scandinavian countries. We in Tanzania have found this approach very helpful. Another intermediate type of aid involves the co-operation of a donor country with one of the specialised Agencies, of which the collaboration of Canada with the I.L.O. with respect to the National Industrial Training Scheme in Tanzania is an example. Looked at from the receiving end, arrangements of this kind are seen to draw on a wider experience than a single donor can hope to offer, and are less likely to be encumbered by a difficult psychological relationship, that may characterise a country-to-country link.

In my comments on bilateral aid, I readily admit that I take the point of view of the receiving country. I think you will agree that there is justification for this, for after all, it is the receiving country in whose interests the whole aid effort is being made. However, it would be foolish to overlook the donor country's point of view. Donors tend to prefer a bilateral relationship. They feel that to be identified with an aid project is good public relations and enhances prestige. My impression is that these supposed advantages are overrated and that receiving countries do not necessarily appreciate a perpetual reminder of dependence on aid from a particular donor. A more powerful argument in the mind of bilateral donors is the foreign exchange aspect and the possibilities for tied exports. This raises a complex economic problem outside the scope of this address and all I need here say is that I have already suggested strong reasons for urging a reduction of the tied element to a minimum.

Receiving countries would, of course, prefer a relative increase in multilateral aid and in this they are supported by the Pearson Commission, which recommends an increase in the proportion of aid dispensed multilaterally from 10 to 20 per cent. They would, however, ask that any such change of emphasis should be accompanied by an easing of administrative methods and a reduction of procedural delays.

But since the bulk of external aid is bound to be bilateral for the foreseeable future, it has been the policy of Tanzania and a number of other developing countries to reduce the political and psychological disadvantages of commitment to any one country by spreading their nets as widely as possible. Bilateral capital aid for education in Tanzania has come in the last five years from the United Kingdom, West Germany, the United States of America, the Chinese People's Republic and the countries of Scandinavia. Teachers recruited under bilateral aid agreements have come from a still wider range of countries; at present no less than 27 different nationalities are represented in the expatriate component of secondary school staffs. This multiplication of sources is not educationally speaking ideal, but as a transitional arrangement, there is something to be said for shopping in a variety of countries for help and ideas.

What are the future prospects for educational aid? Looked at from the standpoint of the needs of the developing nations, it seems probable that these needs will concentrate increasingly on the provision of educational buildings. Even to maintain the present tempo of advance, an investment effort will be required, which will severely tax the local resources of Governments. It must, moreover, be remembered that in most developing countries at present only a small fraction of the emerging generation of children can ever hope to enter a secondary school. As countries approach economic take-off, however, the demand for high and medium level manpower is likely to rise more steeply. Since educational provision has to anticipate this demand by several years, the capital outlay on new schools and universities is bound to come well in advance of the economic growth, which they will make possible, and therefore in advance of the fruits of such growth. In such circumstances, external aid will assume critical importance and will it is hoped, be forthcoming in adequate volume at this crucial juncture.

It would, however, be naive to assume that the finance for such development will be readily available. Donor countries will need persuading of the vital role of education in the stage immediately before take-off and the Bank may well have to be induced to relax its present reluctance to finance the "normal growth" of an educational system.

I would expect teacher programmes to diminish in importance as localisation progresses. By 1980 expatriate flows should have fallen to less than half the present level and to have dried up entirely in some countries. Our own localisation programme in Tanzania aims at the complete replacement of foreign teaching personnel by the end of this decade. This means that new recruitment of expatriate teachers will be entirely cut off from the schools in 1977 or 1978, except possibly in engineering subjects, where the local scarcity is exceptional and is likely to persist. University localisation will also be well advanced, though the engagement of certain foreign specialists may continue there for some time longer.

The international loan of experts to work alongside local personnel will no doubt continue for some time. However, as local experts trained abroad return home and as local research institutes get going, the volume of such traffic can be expected to decline. This is our expectation in Tanzania. At the level of university scholarship, the traffic in research personnel under aid programme is likely increasingly to give place to normal multilateral commerce in the field of learning.

But these are speculations. What is less speculative is the presumption that educational aid will gradually be transformed into mutually beneficial bilateral and multilateral exchanges between countries. The aid relationship belongs to the period of growth towards national maturity and national viability. From many points of view it is an unhealthy and an uncomfortable relationship, gladly accepted as a temporary necessity, but intolerable as a permanent feature. As in the life of men and women in society, so in the life of nations the only acceptable and satisfactory principle is that of mutual obligation, and it is to such a principle that the aid relationship must ultimately give place. Certainly that is true in the educational field. In the meantime, let us address ourselves to the most efficient use of educational aid that we and the donor countries can devise. And let us hope for their understanding response to our needs.

CROSS-NATIONAL ASPECTS OF CURRENT I.E.A. WORK

Harold J. Noah

Contemporary cross-national projects appear to be characterized by a number of features: they are test propositions already hinted at, or established, in single-country studies; they are international in scope, design, and execution; they require considerable technical expertise in the social sciences, education, test-construction, administration, and statistical methods, to mention only the most outstanding skills; they take time, five years or so, from inception to publication of the first results is not uncommon; and inevitably they are very expensive.

All of these elements are visible in the current work of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (the I.E.A.), whose major current preoccupation is with extension and improvement of the mathematics achievement study to more countries (20 now instead of 12) and other school subject areas, for example, science, literature comprehension, French as a foreign language, and civic knowledge. It is important to understand that the I.E.A. projects are not essentially, nor are they conceived as, work in comparative education. Rather, the research is designed to uncover those elements in school, home, and general environment that might help to explain variations in school achievement within each country, either between pupils at the same school or, more interestingly, for policy-making, between schools. Indeed, the I.E.A. studies might more accurately be described as multinational, rather than cross-national, in intent and execution.

The basic comparative problem in the mathematics study was that, with only twelve countries it was never possible to place a high level of confidence (statistically speaking) on any cross-national comparisons of regression coefficients, or rank orders. The number of countries was so much smaller than the number of variables, that the results obtained could easily have reflected merely chance associations, or measurement errors rather than systematic, significant relationships. Although the present phase of I.E.A. work involves 20 countries, the small increase in the sample size does not help matters much.

A great deal of material on national educational and social systems was collected for the mathematics study. It appears in Volume I, Chapter 13, of the printed report, under the title "Differences Among Educational Systems", but the descriptions of countries and analyses of trends are nowhere related to the main task of the study, which was the analysis of the correlates of educational (mathematical) achievement. Indeed, the chapter remains an appendage, lacking a secure conceptual habitat and an integral role.

The challenge in the present stage of the I.E.A. inquiries was to do better. This was the task handed to A. Harry Passow, Max Eckstein, and me in the fall of 1968. We were charged to devise a National Case Study Questionnaire, to be completed at the I.E.A. research center in each participating country, which would provide basic information about its educational and socio-economic systems. Moreover, the data collected was to be tied in more closely to the analyses of school achievement than had been the case in the mathematics study.

Twenty months, three international colloquies, and innumerable working sessions later, the questionnaire is now in final form and has gone out to the 19 national centers for completion. We have asked for a mass of information on the educational, social, economic, political, and cultural systems of each country. All data forthcoming will be codable for computer analysis. Each question is asked because it is hoped that the response will enable us to test some quite simple tentative hypotheses concerning the correlates of school achievement. The hypotheses were of the kind:

> The more open the educational system to innovation, the higher the school achievement of pupils, and the greater the range of achievement.
> The higher the social status of teachers, the higher the school achievement of pupils, and the narrower its range.
> The more uniform the racial structure of the population, the higher the school achievement of pupils, and the narrower its range.

These hypotheses try to provide the opportunity to systematically test relationships between elements of the educational, social, political, economic and cultural systems on the one hand, and levels and distributions of school achievement on the other.

We were conscious from the beginning that we needed to find ways to parlay the maximum of 20 countries into more "cases", if we possibly could. One obvious device was to ask for information related to more than just the latest year available. This we did, so many questions request answers based on data for 1950, 1960, as well as the latest figures available. Thus it is possible to consider each country as three cases, or even as four cases, the fourth being derived as a composite of the first three.

Another approach we favored was to ask for the data on a regional basis, rather than nationally. Not only would this avoid the problems caused by misplaced aggregation, but we might then have multiplied sufficiently the number of cases we were dealing with, so that standard tests of statistical significance could be applied. Unfortunately, this was not to be. The construction of questionnaires for international administration is governed by a process of hard bargaining and veto, for one relies upon the willing assent and cooperation of busy research teams in each country. The regionalization of data was judged to be impossible for most items and in any event too laborious, and so was dropped from the National Case Study Questionnaire. However, we were able to have some items introduced into the questionnaire to be completed by teachers and principals, and as these are all tagged with an index of location it should be possible to extract some teacher and school characteristics on a regional basis for each country.

It is worth emphasizing the point that data gathering instruments that have to be approved and then applied multi-nationally are bound to show the marks of compromise, over and above the quite normal transformation that will overtake any set of variables on the journey from initial bright idea to final operational expression. If I might be nationalistically (and simplistically) taxonomic about it, I would say we had to deal with five basic patterns of reaction to our draft items for the National Case Study Questionnaire. There was first what we came to call the Polish Syndrome. This declared that the proposed item was not applicable, not humane, inappropriate and/or impossible to ask, and that no other country should be asked it either. Next there was the Thailand syndrome: which might be expressed as: "What are we supposed to do with this item? What do we fill in here?" Then the French syndrome: "We don't have the answer to this, and we can't be bothered to collect it for you"; and the Anglo-Saxon syndrome (very strong from the Australians): "We can get this data for you, but we can't imagine why you should want it, and we recommend its elimination." Finally, the Japanese syndrome which was expressed as a reluctance to give us anything less than 50 per cent more than we had asked for, and a steadfast refusal to take us at our word when we said "these items are for comment and appraisal only and are not to be completed with data," so that each draft questionnaire came back promptly from Tokyo fully and meticulously completed. So much for Oriental inscrutability!

What do we hope to do with the mass of data we will be receiving during 1970? Basically, I think, there are three things we hope to do. First, we expect to test a whole series of commonly held suppositions about the relationship to scholastic outcomes of certain structural characteristics of national societies and their educational systems. Does it matter who controls the curriculum or who appoints teachers, or who produces textbooks and authorizes their use in schools? Is the length of compulsory schooling important for predicting achievement? Or the extent and frequency of innovations in curriculum? Or the point and processes of transfer from primary to secondary schooling? Does the male-ness or female-ness of the teaching profession make a difference? Or the level of teacher remuneration relative to the earnings of other professionals and semi-professional groups? Do variations in per-pupil expenditure help explain much about variations in achievement on a cross-national basis? Is the degree of racial, social, and income uniformity in each nation an important factor, or not? In a sense, we hope to test a string of null-hypotheses. My hunch is that we will conclude that few, if any, of the national structural variations we measure will have high correlations with variations in measured school achievement. If this turns out to be true, we shall have performed the purely negative job of exploding many widely held, but unjustified, assumptions about the power of particular characteristics of national systems and structures to produce particular levels and distributions of school achievement.

Second, we can hope to use the Case-Study data to do what Chapter 13 of the report on mathematics achievement did, but do it better. Particularly, the profiles to be drawn of each nation's socio-economic structure will focus more tightly on those elements which might be supposed to have direct relevance to the teaching of science, literature, civics, French as a foreign language, and so on. In addition, for many of the countries we shall also have the data collected in 1964 for the mathematics study, and we shall be able to make some trend statements.

Last, we should be able to make quite positive use of the national case study data in trying to explain some results obtained in the main within-country analyses. Most probably these will show that, across countries, the importance for predicting school achievement levels and variances of certain specific variables (say, teacher characteristics as a whole) will vary. Thus, we may find that in industrialized nations modes of teacher training do not help predict school achievement very much, while in developing nations they do. At this point, our national case study data should help us to suggest reasons why these and other differences might occur. The structural profile of each nation's socio-educational system should be an important source of new hypotheses to be tested in I.E.A. work.

In closing, I should stress that these three approaches by no means exhaust the cross-national potential of the entire present phase of I.E.A. research. They merely carry us as far as we can see ourselves going at present using the national case-study data. We anticipate that the regionalization of data collected in the principals' and teachers' questionnaire, together with the fact that each pupil-respondent and each response-item are also tagged with a regional location, will at last enable us to break with the unfortunate convention in comparative studies that has assumed that we must necessarily compare features of entire national systems. Cross-national comparisons of data drawn from sub-national groups may turn out to be much more illuminating and much more defensible theoretically. For example, I suspect that data drawn on the basis of racial, occupational, religious, or linguistic subgroups may be, and should be, compared across nations. Clearly, too, in many important respects the educational systems of metropolises have much more in common with each other than they each have with the schools of their particular national hinterlands. If this, and similar propositions are the most worthwhile candidates for testing, then the "sub-national" approach to cross-national comparison may be characteristic of a lot of the new work we shall see in comparative education in the near future.

(Note: A version of this note will appear in the Comparative Education Review, October 1970.)

Les méthodes qui apparaissent les meilleures et les mieux adaptées en général pour la formation des cadres éducatifs par l'intermédiaire de l'éducation comparée dans des pays en voie de développement.

M. Godefroy Mouaga Ododi,
Ambassade du Cameroun, Ottawa

Je voudrais, dans ce bref exposé parler des méthodes qui, à mon avis, apparaissent les meilleures et les mieux adaptées en général pour la formation des cadres éducatifs par l'intermédiaire de l'éducation comparée dans des pays en voie de développement.

L'indépendance politique n'est qu'un aspect de la décolonisation. Quoique le problème économique n'ait pas été évoqué dans le sujet, de même que la formation des cadres éducatifs dans nos jeunes Etats Africains, la liberté économique et le problème des cadres restent à conquérir: il s'agit pour l'Etat d'assumer non seulement les responsabilités intérieures et propres de l'Etat, mais aussi les responsabilités économiques. Cependant les lourdes charges de l'équipement et de la mise en valeur exigent à côté de l'effort national, des concours extérieurs. Ainsi se dessineront les méthodes de la formation des cadres à vocation complémentaire dont l'équilibre harmonieuse assurera la stabilité de l'Etat.

Le rôle des cadres est trop important pour le devenir d'une société surtout quand elle est en pleine mutation, pour que les responsables du pays n'accordent pas à la formation d'une élite autochtone une place éminente dans leurs projets.

Leurs responsabilités de l'heure sont à cet égard particulièrement lourdes. No doivent-ils pas maintenant faire accepter par les populations autochtones, les conséquences normales et sociales de l'intégration politique déjà proclaimée dans les principes: autrement dit, abattre progressivement mais sans retard les cloisonnements entre les fractions raciales de la population naturellement hétérogène au départ. S'il nous faut agir avec prudence, nous ne devons jamais perdre de vue que le maintient de ces cloisonnements conduirait inéluctablement au développement de mouvements raciaux qui sont à l'opposé de l'intégration.

Or, pour la meilleure formation des cadres éducatifs par l'intermédiaire d'education comparée dans nos jeunes Etats, il faut d'abord établir une compréhension mutuelle, et surtout la réaliser dans les élites.

Aussi, les meilleures méthodes pour la formation des cadres éducatifs par l'intermédiaire d'éducation comparée dans ces Etas quasi-embryonnaires ne doivent pas set poser simplement en terme d'enseignement ou même d'éducation. Car, il ne s'agit pas seulement de réussir à encadrer au mieux la population professionnellement, socialement et même politiquement; mais il faut surtout que l'élite nouvelle se situe spontanément dans le cadre des institutions mises en place par le Gouvernement local; en un mot qu'elle accepte pleinement et sans arrière pensée ces institutions, car la réussite ou échec commande largement l'avenir des jeunes Etats en pleines mutation dans ce domaine.

Pour ce faire, il est utile de recenser la réserve latente ou secondaire de personnel ou puiser éventuellement des cadres avec le concours de la formation accélérée qui peut pallier la lenteur avec laquelle les cycles de formation complète assurent le recrutement normal.

Il sera également souhaitable de donner à chaque fonctionnaire éducatif la possibilité permanente de se perfectionner professionnellement et d'accéder à tous les échelons de la hiérarchie; former des cadres nouveaux répondant aux besoins nouveaux des Etats Africains, rajeunir des cadres par la mise à la retraite des fonctionnaires âgés ou fatigués, procéder aux permutations nécessaires entre fonctionnaires du chef lieu, de façon à permettre aux uns et aux autres de compléter leur formation éducative, établir un programme de perfectionnement professionnel pour les agents de l'éducation désireux de parfaire leur formation et de s'élever dans la hiérarchie.

Dans toutes ces opérations, les gouvernements africains doivent surtout être guidés par deux impératifs constamment respectés:

1. Africaniser le mieux et le plus vite possible l'administration éducative de nos pays;

2. Enviter à tout prix l'Africanisation au rabais. Un jeune Etat a besoin d'une administration de valeur, formée d'éducateurs instruits, compétents, entièrement dévoués au service éducatif.

Mais cela évidemment n'exclut pas certaines adaptations aux conditions locales.

Il faut en effet et c'est la préoccupation que les Etats Africains doivent veiller tous les instants à prévoir une adaptation des programmes, pourvoir un aménagement de structures et de cycles, d'introduire des méthodes nouvelles qui façonnent nos jeunes esprits et pour qu'ils rendent immédiatement employables.

Aussi, pour une formation rationnelle des cadres éducatifs par l'intermédiaire d'éducation comparée dans des Etats d'Afrique encore en émergence, il nous faut former les hommes aux nouvelles dimensions de notre société, aux dimensions de l'Afrique avec ses problèmes de développement qui puissent réaliser le parafricanisme culturel et aux responsabilités du monde. Pour se faire, il faut d'abord opérer en nous même ce qu'on peut appeler une décolonisation culturelle; c'est-à-dire considérer notre apport dans la culture universelle comme un élément actif et sportif, et pour cela, nous devons nous plonger dans notre passé et connaître ce qui a de plus valable dans nos patrimoines, de nos habitudes qui aussi ont leur valeur; bref il faut la réhabilitation de notre culture éducative si toutefois nous voulons former des cadres franchement éducatifs dans nos jeunes états encore en pleine mutation. Lorsqu'on transporte purement et simplement en Afrique les méthodes éducatives d'Europe, on s'expose à faire naître des cas limités ou certaines leçons magistrales portent sur les nations, qui n'ont pas cours en Afrique, l'opportunité d'aider les Africains à mieux connaître leurs civilisations tout en découvrant les moyens de faire face aux exigences économiques, culturelles, scientifiques et éducatives du monde moderne.

Immédiatement, cela nous conduit à l'éducation planifiée.

Donc, si l'éducation se trouve intégrée dans le plan général de développement et par là même intimement associée à l'économie dans sa croissance, il faudra prendre garde au fait que les facteurs économiques loin de suffire à la planification, doivent être combinés avec les facteurs sociaux, psycho-sociaux et culturels, car le sous-développement s'analyse aussi en termes de tension, psychologique, de besoins qui ne procèdent pas d'un calcul économique.

Les objectifs essentiels de l'éducation planifiée peuvent donc se résumer ainsi: augmenter selon un processus très étudié, le taux de scolarisation en recherchant l'affaissement du coût moyen; développer l'enseignement du premier degré, réduire la proportion d'analphabétisme chez les jeunes et chez les adultes, développer l'enseignement technique pour la formation d'une main-d'oeuvre qualifiée et de techniciens spécialisés tout en accordant la priorité aux staticiens administrateurs et planificateurs; développer la formation d'autres élites dans les établissements secondaires et les instituts d'enseignement supérieur, adapter le système éducatif dans toutes ses composantes, de manière aussi poussée que possible par des méthodes, programmes et types d'enseignement déjà suscités, évidemment - aux données ecologiques et enfin assigner au plan de développement de l'éducation une portée de dix années environ.

En conclusion, nous devons nous efforcer de tirer une leçon de l'analyse qui peut apparaître meilleure et mieux adaptée en général pour la formation des cadres éducatifs par l'intermédiaire de l'éducation comparée dans des pays d'émergence. On peut grouper ces conclusions autour des diverses considérations générales suivantes:

- Faire sortir les gens de leur milieu social pour éviter les questions ayant trait au tribalisme ou à la tradition;

- Vérifier ou compléter leur éducation de base indispensable par un stage scolaire (test, revue de presse) pour parfaire la synthèse des événements;

- Donner un enseignement fondé de méthodes pédagogiques, psychologiques et de commandement communes à toutes les spécialités, car, que vous soyez éducateur, administrateur, ingénieur, magistrat, etc., vous êtres toujours astreint appeler à commander des gens;

- Orienter les élèves ou les stagiaires dans des spécialisations, dans la technique qu'ils auront choisie ou qu'on aura choisie pour eux;

- Procéder par le moyen de stages auprès d'un fonctionnaire déjà en place avec mission de faire un rapport détaillé sur les méthodes employées et les améliorations à y apporter; et s'il y a possibilité, effecturer un stage à l'étranger avant de prendre fonction;

- Rassembler les stagiaires pour confronter des expériences et compléter cette fois leur formation;

- Tenir compte des conditions du milieu tout en évitant à tout prix de transporter en Afrique les méthodes de la métropole ou encore moins, celle de l'Amérique, sans être préalablement assuré qu'elles répondent bien aux conditions spéciales du milieu Africain.

Pour terminer, j'en conviens que l'africanisation des cadres éducatifs est absolument indispensable aux développements des jeunes nations. Seule cette politique donne aux nouveaux spécialistes le sens de leur responsabilité et de leur devoir national. En même temps, qu'un impératif économique, elle est un impératif moral et civique.

A NOTE ON INVESTMENT ALTERNATIVES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: HUMAN VS. NON-HUMAN CAPITAL FORMATION

by

Lennart Ohlsson

Economic aid to a developing country in order to facilitate higher investments in education may in general be good, if it raises the investments. If, however, it is given in such a form that it serves to allocate relatively more resources to education within a given investment budget or is given instead of other aid, it might well have negative effects on the possible rate of economic growth in the future. The type of aid given to a developing country has to be determined from an analysis of

1) what is the "best" policy for the country to obtain a given, desirable growth rate and

2) how much and what kind of foreign aid is required to implement this policy.

The topic to be discussed here lies more within the first point than the second. In particular the discussion focuses on the difficulties involved in choosing between alternative investment structures and how these difficulties are related to the choice of future production structure.

In order to put these issues in the proper perspective, I should like to state a few major economic problems facing developing countries today. In both an absolute and a relative sense they have a too low income or production per capita and in most cases also a too low rate of economic growth to achieve a satisfactory level of percapita income within a few decades.[1] To acquire a substantially higher growth rate an extraordinary amount of resources has to be devoted to investments. Some of the economic structures thus gained may for a period of time be of little use for the economy in the sense that they do not then add much to output. The economy experiences in a short run an overinvestment in some structures, while at the same time there might be underinvestment in others. Considering the general scarcity of investment resources in relation to the desirable growth rate, it becomes very important to invest in the "right" kind of economic structures at the "right" point in time. What help then can available analytical methods offer in solving those problems?

The Choice of Investment Structures

One theoretically desirable and empirically used method from which the structure of investment can be determined is the method of calculating long-run expected rates of return on capital. In practice, however, these rates of return have to be approximated with rates based on current prices, interests and wages, some of which may be heavily influenced in the future by the investments and the development process itself.[2] More serious perhaps is the fact that these figures may be biased by temporary business cycles, planned or unplanned, structural imbalances in the markets for goods, factors of production, etc. Empirical difficulties of a similar kind seem to be a characteristic also of other possible methods, for instance those of linear programming and manpower (or more general input) requirement methods.[3] Such shortcomings can be attributed to the fact that most methods operate with assumptions based at best on the situation in developed countries, for which it is more reasonable to assume a functioning market mechanism. As indicated before some of the shortcomings may originate in earlier investments, which have not yet matured into production. Even though these problems are rather serious they cannot be avoided and the careful and selective use of the methods mentioned above can certainly give valuable information. It seems obvious, however, that they are more appropriate for short or medium term problems than long term ones.

Since education to higher skills in itself is quite time consuming, to which furthermore has to be added the considerable time needed for the organization of the school system, etc., the planning period has to be at least ten years long. Probably twice as much is a desirable model. This makes the above mentioned methods inappropriate as analytical tools. The long planning period raises in effect difficult analytical problems in that most economic variables become endogenously determined. Such is certainly the case with the structure of the capital stock twenty years hence, since the initial stock of capital is usually relatively low. On the other hand it also opens the possibility of choosing the future production structure as an integral part of the planning model, since the constraints imposed by the present structure can then gradually be relaxed. Consequently the need for a long planning period caused by the time requirements of the educational process also increases the alternatives at hand for determining present and future investment structures. The choice of future production structure and of present and future investment structures have to be made simultaneously, but can be made on the other hand within a rather broad framework.[4]

Alternatives in the choice of future production and present investment structures

This is not the place to go into detail about potential structures. A few broad outlines will suffice.

The general framework for the future production structure is set by the availability of basic factors of production such as raw materials, land for use in agricultural production and abundant supplies of labour on one hand, and potential domestic and foreign markets on the other. Knowledge about such basic economic potentialities may indicate a general direction or path along which the economy may grow. In a sense, the number of alternative production structures may then be narrowed down. The choice of future production structure imposes some restrictions upon

a) the level of investment needed in earlier periods. In particular, the choice may require a high investment output ratio or only a low one that allows for more present consumption.

b) the structure of investments. Here one might distinguish between investments biased towards human capital, for instance in education, and investments biased towards non-human capital.

Each of these categories can furthermore be divided into two categories since investments can either be concentrated or spread out. To be specific, this gives in the case of investments in education the alternatives to educate a few to high skill levels or to educate many to only low skill levels.

I am not going to speak much about the restriction imposed on the investment/output ratio. Suffice it to say that it is easier to choose a high ratio, if the type of investment made also has an immediate consumption effect. This is certainly the case with investments in education.

As for the restrictions imposed on the investment structure, I have here distinguished between four structures. To make it easy for me, let me begin with assuming that each production structure has one and only one investment structure associated with it. In general then it is not very likely that a developing country could acquire a general comparative advantage in a production structure utilizing intensively high skill classes or non-human capital. Both the low initial stock of capital and the small investment resources in relation to the developed countries rule out these alternatives for at least several decades ahead. Left to be considered is then investments in human or non-human capital spread out on a lot of people or a lot of plants (or sectors) respectively. Here I have no general arguments for or against one or the other. In practice I do not think that these are really alternative policies; it might in many cases rather be that those investments are complementary.

So far, only the general case has been considered. For some developing countries, however, alternative policies may be preferable. Take, for instance, a country with abundant raw material resources. In many instances the available production technique is relatively intensive in using both human and non-human capital. The comparative advantage established by the raw material gives the country another possible and usually preferable production structure. If human and non-human capital is complementary in the production of this raw material then there will also be another structure of investments needed, namely a structure of concentrated investments in a few higher skill categories and in a narrow sector of the economy. The development of such an advanced sector will be easier if foreign producers in the beginning can be persuaded to bear the costs of the investments in human and non-human capital. This will initially demand immigration of skilled labour from abroad along with imports of the machinery needed. With proper planning the imports of man and machinery may at least partly and successively be substituted by domestic labour and domestically produced machinery and equipment respectively. In effect it might be possible to get some "spin-off"

87

companies, established by former employees of the raw material producing industries and producing inputs to or heavily utilizing the output of these industries.[5]

Here I have discussed two cases of future production structures. There are however certain countries where both structures can be parallelly developed. In many countries the agricultural sector may play a part of the role here given the raw material production. In fact the development of an efficient agricultural production could serve the purpose of establishing a much needed domestic market for non-durable consumption goods and for semi-manufactured equipment and machinery. To summarize, the early development stages may then be characterized by a production structure including a relatively large production of

- agricultural products
- raw materials
- manufactured foodstuffs and other non-durable consumption goods
- semi-manufactured goods and parts for the agricultural raw material and consumption goods producing sectors.

This conclusion about the production structure is far from unique, but is still worth emphasizing. It bears important implications for the choice of educational system.

Manpower requirements and the educational system

Apart from more highly skilled labour classes in raw material production and those needed to organize and lead production in every industry, whatever the production technique, the type of production structure discussed here may be called "high skill saving". This means that the manpower needs will be heavily biased towards lower skilled classes of labour and that the educational system has to be designed to meet with those needs. For a reasonably large and at most partially developed country the scarcity of resources demands three basic characteristics of its school system.

1) that the investments in education can be utilized in production soon after the period of investment

2) that the education is not too costly for the skills gained

3) that the education leaves some flexibility for further education or restraining during the lifetime of a person.

Talking earlier only about the needs of the agricultural and industrial sectors, this indicates a school system which is extremely oriented towards the practical problems in these sectors. In effect I believe in a primary, common school offering only the basic knowledge in reading, writing and arithmetic. After two or three years in primary school, the students intending to work in jobs requiring only lower skills should be directed to vocational schools in as large numbers as possible. The failure of these schools in developing countries is amply described in the literature, a failure which I believe can be ascribed to too little job oriented education.[6] If possible such schools should be constructed in the form of pilot plants. In this form the basic industrial or agricultural training could be given. There production engineers, managers, foremen, etc., could also, after or parallel with their theoretical education, acquire training in practical production, organization or instruction problems. In industrialized countries the equivalent education is mostly given on the job. In the absence of many well organized companies the developing countries have to include such training in the formal school system. Two positive effects may be gained. The training in pilot plants may in itself serve as a catalyst to the establishment of the needed industries. The existence of such training facilities and trained personnel can induce some foreign companies to set up plants in the country.

As indicated earlier, the pilot plants can be either industrial or agricultural. In both cases they serve as demonstration units and this is an especially important function in the agricultural sector, where changes tend to be slower.

I do not intend to be more lengthy on the subject of the structure of education. It is obvious from what I have already said that I believe in a very practically oriented education for students who are to work in industry or agriculture and that this should be so however high skills they are acquiring in school. This again is a consequence of the conclusion that a developing country cannot develop a general comparative advantage in production heavily utilizing highly skilled personnel. Such countries must import production techniques for extended periods of time and usually cannot hope to invent new products.

Educational Aid to Developing Countries

Educational aid can be given in many forms. The choice of in which form to give aid has to be determined along the lines indicated above. Purely financial aid may serve the purpose of facilitating a rise in the investment in education. The resources to this mean have then to be provided within the country or imported from abroad. This kind of aid may leave the choice open to the developing country, whether and if so from which country, to import the resources needed. The aid can also be tied in the form of personnel for planning, teaching or training, in which case the aid has both a financial and real side to it.

Since it is not easy to give any general argument for or against any specific type of educational aid, I shall limit the exposition to some remarks about the manpower requirement needed in an educational system of above indicated kind and what demands for imported manpower can thus be derived.

It is certainly not an easy task to set up a vocational school system in the form of pilot plants. Here I believe that import of foreign personnel could prove to be essential. The use of foreigners in that task has the effect of both getting a suitable and efficient schooling from the beginning and shortening the period before which the first students will leave the school. In this it facilitates the fulfillment of the above required characteristics of a good educational system. Apart from the needs during the period of organization of the vocational schools, the kind of educators most demanded from abroad will probably be managers, engineers, foremen, etc., formerly employed in regular industrial plants in the developed countries and preferably then those with a former occupation in these industries teaching organization.

In conclusion, I should like to say that planners given the problem of setting up a school system in a developing country, should not in general take for granted that the best system for economic growth purposes has to look much like those in more developed countries. It serves no good purpose, for instance, to overinvest in education, if the educated labour have to be under- or even unemployed for extended periods of time. The hope that some of those who have acquired the higher education might have the proper entrepreneurial talent and thus arrange for their own employment, will surely remain a vague hope only, if the education is not designed to complement such a talent with adequate and practical knowledge.

-- FOOTNOTES --

1. At least from what can be judged by growth patterns of presently developed countries.

2. See Arnold C. Harberger, "Investment in Men versus Investment in Machines: The Case of India" published in C. Arnold Anderson and Mary Jean Bowman (ed.): "Education and Economic Development" (Chicago, 1965) or for the United States, Gary S. Becker, "Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis with Special Reference to Education."

3. An indeed interesting example on the possibilities linear programming methods give in an intertemporal analysis of the resource allocation in education in Nigeria is Samuel Bowles: "The Efficient Allocation of Resources in Education," the Quarterly Journal of Economics, May 1967. As references to the use of manpower requirement model -- Herbert S. Parnes, "Forecasting Educational Needs for Economic and Social Development" the Mediterranean Regional Project, OECD, Paris, October, 1962 and Wilfred Beckerman "Methodology for Projection of Educational Requirements" the Mediterranean Regional Project (STP - 22), OECD, Paris, 1962 (in mimeographed version) may be picked. For a more extended description of some criticism, that can be raised against some of the models used in the analysis of future manpower needs, see Frederick Harbison and Charles A. Myers, "Education, Manpower and Economic Growth, Strategies of Human Resource Development" McGraw-Hill, New York, 1964, pp. 195-202. The criticism raised there is somewhat different from those made here in the text, but all lead to the same conclusion on the need for a long term plan.

4. These conclusions add a new dimension to the many advantages of an approach to the long term problem proposed in Harbison and Myers, op. cit., pp. 202-208 and there called "The Target-Setting Approach".

5. A good historical example of the existence of an advanced raw material producing sector of a relatively backward economy is the case of Sweden before the end of the 19th century. In the production of iron and steel the Swedish industry was in the forefront as indicated by inventions of new production technique. After the opening up in the 1850s of a market for Swedish wood products in Great Britain, a new raw material sector was established. In this sector the major production technique was imported and it was not until the 1870s and in the production of paper, another product based on wood, that this then broadened

sector revealed itself to be an internationally advanced one by a new, major and Swedish technique invention.

6. Harbison and Myers, op. cit., p. 56, refers to such a failure in Uganda. In my judgment their conclusion on p. 68 that "concentration on vocational and craft training at the secondary level .... would be unwise" for the underdeveloped countries may be wise to take as an advice only if one stresses the words "at the secondary level". To me the hitherto referred examples of bad experiences from vocational schools might as well indicate that the education and training given there is not adequate and practical. Even if the contrary is the case the failure of vocational schools might then indicate the lack of proper job opportunities. The latter could in effect be taken as implicating an even broader task for the vocational schools, which can be constructed to also include the practical training of the highly skilled labour classes. If competent teachers, as Harbison and Myers states, are not available in the underdeveloped countries, why not include the education of such teachers in the development plan and in the meanwhile try to import such teachers from abroad.

A BIOGRAPHY

Dr. Lennart Ohlsson, who is a research economist at the Industrial Institute for Economic and Social Research in Stockholm, Sweden, received his degree from Uppsala University, Sweden, in 1969. Dr. Ohlsson's dissertation on foreign trade and economic growth in Sweden 1871-1966 was published by the Institute in its series of studies on the long run economic growth of Sweden (Almquist & Wiksell, Uppsala, 1969). Spending a postdoctoral year at the Research Center in Economic Growth, Stanford University, as a research associate and a Fulbright research scholar, he was partly working on problems in international trade and economic growth for Professor Moses Abramovitz, partly working on a major study on factors behind the postwar growth and structure of Swedish engineering exports.

THE ROLE AND RATIONALE FOR EDUCATIONAL AID IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

by

Professor O. Olakanpo
University of Lagos, Lagos, Nigeria

Introduction

Until recently, education was not considered a significant factor in the economic growth of nations. In the early post-war years, when there was the great awakening to the urgent need to raise the living standard of poor countries, the emphasis in development effort, both internally and externally, was on financial investment capital. Although the need for foreign technical assistance was then recognised, the development of indigenous manpower was never integrated into the fabric of economic development. It was not until the late fifties, that economists and policy-makers alike began to realise that lack of training and education can set limit to the capacity of a developing economy to absorb physical capital.

While economists are yet to determine "how best to proceed" in assessing the contribution of education to economic growth of nations,[1] there is now enough evidence to indicate clearly that the scarcity of educated manpower is a major constraint in development.[2] The awareness of this constraint explains the high priority position, which education has been given in the development programmes of developing nations, and in the external aid budgets of bilateral and multilateral assistance agencies.

The crucial role of education in economic development is not however easily recognisable. Neither could the need for educational aid in overall programme of international assistance be easily explained. The rationale of non-educational foreign assistance say for building a dam, or a steel mill is perhaps easy to understand, but this is not so in the case of foreign assistance to construct schools, train teachers, engineers and doctors. The difference lies significantly in the unique feature of investment in education. Education per se is not productive; hence investment in education, unlike investment in a steel-mill does not necessarily contribute to economic growth.

In the context of economic development the 'product' of education outlays consist of both investment and consumption. The consumption satisfaction derives from the fact that the recipient of education is able to enjoy a fuller life. As an investment, education generates increased factor earnings to the labour supplied by the educated person, and this benefit accrues 'externally' not only to those in whom educational input is invested, but also to other members of the community by improving the general character of society and the quality of economic and social decisions.

This dual characteristic of education raises problems both in regard to internal resource allocation and its suitability for foreign aid. For one thing, a real separation of education into its investment and consumption element is an insuperable task. In view of the existence of the consumption element in educational product, there may be a considerable doubt as to its suitability for foreign aid especially as, in the context of poor countries, investments in physical capital are more pressing and require all available resources at the margin.

The tendency nowadays is to emphasise the investment component of education not only as a justification for educational aid, but also in overall development programme. Within this context, we shall first review the manpower problems and needs of developing countries, with a view to ascertaining the role which various forms of educational assistance have played in promoting human resource development. In the final section, we bring together the threads of the discussion in the preceding sections and consider what modifications are required in educational assistance in order to ensure an optimal educational system for rapid economic growth.

Manpower Needs and Problems of Developing Nations

The rationale of educational aid is to strengthen and supplement a country's capacity to increase its 'stock' of high-level manpower via its educational system. By educational system, we include all types of training as well as formal education - agricultural extension, training - within industry, technical and vocational training, adult literacy courses, and the like.

Educational aid in this context is not limited to the various forms of assistance by bilateral and multilateral agencies. It includes similar activities of foreign non-profit organisations, and private business firms.

The 'stock' of high-level manpower of a country has been defined to include the following five broad occupational categories:[3]

(i) Entrepreneurial and top-level managerial and administrative personnel in private firms, public enterprise, government agencies, and educational institutions.

(ii) Highly educated professionals such as scientists, agronomists, veterinarians, engineers, doctors, accountants, economists and statisticians.

(iii) Sub-professionals of all kinds such as agricultural assistants, nurses, technicians. supervisors, skill and manual workers such as mechanics, and skilled clerical workers like book-keepers, secretaries, stenographers, and machine operators.

(iv) Qualified teachers.

(v) Top ranking political leaders, judges, and officers of police and armed forces.

Developing nations are a mixed lot in regard to almost all the critical growth variables; of which the 'stock' of high-level manpower is no exception. Not only are there variations in the 'level' of the stock of high-level manpower possessed by developing nations, there are also variations in the composition of the stock, that is in the quantity and quality of the five occupational categories identified. Further, the needs of developing nations for high-level manpower are unlikely to be the same; as much depends on the particular demand and supply considerations applicable to high-level manpower in each country in relation to its economic development plan. In spite of these variations, there are certain features of manpower situation that are common to all developing countries. First there is the high level of illiteracy, which in spite of the expansion of primary school enrolments of recent years, has remained almost unchanged due to rapid population growth rates.

In Northern Nigeria, for example, it is estimated that less than 11% of school age children attend primary schools as at 1965 and the prospect of raising the ratio to 25% during the next five years does not appear promising. For Latin American countries which have had a longer history of development than most African countries, the picture is not too different. Recent estimates indicate that 37 million out of a population of 236 million in the twenty Latin American countries had less than three years of primary schooling or none at all.[4]

The second common feature of manpower situation is the critical shortage of all categories of high-level manpower necessitating a heavy reliance on expatriates both in the private and public sectors. To illustrate the enormity of the problem, we draw upon Nigeria data:-

TABLE ONE

Vacancies and Expatriate Staffing in Professional and Technically Oriented Nigerian Ministerial Positions (1965)

	Estab.	Vacancies	Expatriates	Total Vac's. & Expatriates	Percent of Estab.
1. SENIOR LEVEL					
a) Professional or Specialized Administrative Positions					
North	1814	793	502	1295	71.4%
East	964	218	124	342	35.5
West	797	202	112	314	39.4
Mid-West	305	105	25	130	42.6
Federal	2310	757	266	1023	44.3
TOTAL	6190	2075	1029	3104	50.1
b) Total of All Senior Level Positions	7247	2278	1041	3319	45.8
2. INTERMEDIATE/MIDDLE LEVEL					
a) Technical positions					
North	1660	669	204	873	52.6%
East	767	182	27	209	27.2
West	842	297	40	337	40.0
Mid-West	243	86	4	90	37.0
Federal	2446	686	94	780	31.9
TOTAL	5958	1920	369	2289	38.4
b) Total of All Intermediate/Middle Level Positions	12273	3411	489	3900	31.8

Source: Nigerian Human Resources Development and Utilization. "1965 Federal and Regional Government Staff Lists and unpublished 1966 Federal Government paper on "Service Post Statistics".

As at 1965, about 46% of all senior level positions in the government establishments were either vacant or filled with expatriates. At the intermediate level, the proportion of unfilled positions and positions occupied by expatriates to total establishments was about 32%. The data available for the private sector indicates proportionately greater level of dependence on expatriate staff than even in the public sector. For the senior occupational categories -- managerial, engineers, surveyors, doctors, accountants and geologists -- nearly 60% were expatriates. In the indigenous private enterprise sector, observers seem to agree that almost half of the workers in non-agricultural activities lack the basic level of knowledge normally associated with functional literacy. The low educational content of indigenous entrepreneurs is particularly striking. In a recent study of indigenous entrepreneurs in distributive trades in Nigeria, it was found that only about 39% out of 288 businessmen have either primary education or secondary education. Of the remaining 61%, about 24% can neither read nor write in vernacular, while 22% can read and write only in vernacular, and the remaining can read and write in both vernacular and English but with no formal education.[5] In effect, the majority of indigenous entrepreneurs engaged in distributive trades lack the basic educational requisite for the application of modern managerial techniques -- book-keeping, inventory control, etc.

The amount of growth needed in the educational sector of developing countries in order to ensure that they have at least a minimum educational system necessary for their development is enormous. The manpower projections for Latin American countries shows that between 1965 and 1980, an annual average of 120,000 university-trained professionals will be needed which is nearly double the present annual number of graduates. At the intermediate technical level, while the annual requirement is estimated at 480,000 the present annual supply is 140,000.[6]

The above illustrative data serve to emphasise the substantial educational gap between the have-not nations and the advanced countries.

An impressive effort has been made in recent years to narrow the gap. The most striking feature has been the enormous increase in enrolment at practically all educational levels; but most especially at the primary school level. To cite a few concrete examples of these increases, in the past fifteen years the total pupil enrolment for all less-developed countries taken together have more than doubled, enrolment at the secondary school level more than trebled, and higher educational enrolments increased only slightly less rapidly. The progress has no doubt had a varied pattern in individual countries. Although very few developing can match the progress which Nigeria made in her educational sector in the sixties, the data on the growth in enrolments during 1960-65 is particularly illustrative. As the table below indicates, all post-primary education with the exception of teacher training, grew at a spectacular rate in the sixties. On the other hand, primary school enrolments were stagnant.

TABLE TWO

Growth in Enrollments, 1960-65 (Nigeria)

	1960	1965	Annual Compound Growth Rate
Primary	2,912,619	2,911,742	-
Secondary Grammar	52,437	128,160	19.6%
Sixth Form	899	4,815	39.9
Technical/Vocational	4,555	8,581	13.5
Teacher Training	27,909	30,805	2.0
University	2,659	7,709	23.8

Source: Fed. Min. of Education, Nigeria, Digest of Statistics, 1960.

Perhaps the significant question in relation to this educational expansion which has spread to all developing countries is: To what extent has the increase in the quantity and quality of the trained manpower been related to the development needs of these countries. To answer this question, we must first identify the sections of the educational field that must receive priority, having regard to the requirements of developing countries for high level manpower. It is difficult to generalise about what constitutes the priority areas in educational development in developing countries, as political or other requirements will dictate different priorities, to those supported by purely economic reasoning. However, from the viewpoint of economic development, the improved technique of manpower and educational planning has been useful in assessing the efficiency of educational investment and indicating the pattern of education that is relevant to different stages of economic growth.

The work of Harbison and Myers has indicated the strategies for human resource development in developing countries which by their definitions includes underdeveloped and partially-developed countries.[7] For these groups of countries, their policy findings are as follows:

For the underdeveloped countries, where indigenous human resources are underdeveloped, first priority should be given to training people who can replace the expatriates in key positions both in the public and the private sectors. Next to this is a comprehensive programme of upgrading and training manpower in the major employing establishments with most of the responsibility in this regard being undertaken by the government and large enterprises. As regards the development of formal education, absolute priority should be given to education at secondary school level and specialised training of graduates abroad to take up the key positions occupied by expatriates, rather than the expenditure of available finances first to achieve universal primary education.

For the partially developed countries, the top priority in educational expansion should be given to secondary education which is oriented to more fundamental subjects. Next sub-professional and technical institutes should be developed while higher education should be shifted away from over-concentration in humanities and law to those critical areas as agriculture, science, engineers and other technologically-oriented disciplines.

Although these strategies need not be uniformly applied in all developing countries, they no doubt provide a sort of measuring rod for assessing the extent to which the pattern of educational expansion in developing countries has been related to their critical needs for skilled manpower. In view of the fact that educational planning is yet only in the bud in most developing countries and having regard to the weight of political considerations in allocating funds to different levels of educating and types of training, educational expansion has been marked by many dislocations, and unsatisfactory results.

In most developing countries, there is often a mismatch between educational output at all levels, and the demands of development. At the primary and secondary school level, education has resulted in the 'over production' of 'clerks' who cannot be absorbed into the employment stream in the urban areas. At the same time, the kind of education needed for improving agricultural productivity and general rural development has been neglected. At the level of university education, the 'education industry' is also remarkable for its 'over-production' of certain less important skills and 'under production' of the most relevant ones. India and Egypt are generally known for their over-supply of university graduates. Developing African countries are also gradually approaching a situation of over-supply of intellectuals in the field of law and humanities. These types of distortions in the educational system have created two seemingly diverse and complex manpower problems for developing countries. In the first place, there is over abundance of certain categories of educated people relative to what the economy can absorb in the types of job or at the rate of pay, which they expect. Although it is often argued and rightly so, that market forces would in the long run reduce the salary differentials which seem to have led to this imbalance between white collar and manual jobs, this may well be a slow process. In the meanwhile, there would be frustration among the educated unemployed and this may endanger political stability. Secondly, as we have seen, the critical skills required for rapid economic development are yet to be prefabricated by the educational system.

Another type of inefficiency in the educational system of many developing countries is the emphasis on formal education as distinct from on-the-job training. For some reason, educational planners have been inclined to think that on-the-job development lies beyond their legitimate concern and at the same time they appear to have ignored the task of building the necessary bridges between formal education and in-service-training. In terms of pay-off, on-the-job training of adults is the quickest way to increase productivity in developing countries.

Related to the pattern of educational expansion in developing countries is the relatively high cost of education. In relation to the quality of its output and available resources, the cost of education in most developing countries is high. The rapid educational expansion of recent years, has imposed a strain on the budgets of most developing countries. For most developing countries in Africa, current expenditure on education as a percentage of total current expenditure amounts to about 15% or more. For developing countries as a whole, public expenditure on education rose by about 12% a year, between 1950 and 1965. While the rate of growth of GDP in developing countries has on the average been of the order of between 4% and 5%, total expenditure on education has grown approximately three times as fast at about 15% per annum. Indeed, towards the end of the sixties, educational expenditure as a proportion of the GDP has approached 4% of which is about the target often advanced as a suitable expenditure on education in a developing country. In terms of needs, a further significant increase in educational expenditure in most developing countries would seem realistic. However, in terms of competing claims for limited resources, further increase in the share of education in available resources, may severely hamper the development of other vital sectors of the economy, thereby aggravating the 'unemployment' problem already emerging in consequence of the relatively poor quality of educational output. Already the rate of educational expansion is slackening as educational systems approach expenditure ceilings set by low per capita income and relatively high unit costs of education. In the face of such pressure on resources, the crucial issue in educational financing is how to relieve the fiscal burden of educational expenditure, while at the same time having enough additional educational and training resources to meet pressing needs. The solution may lie partly in increasing the role of the private sector in educational financing, and partly in external assistance.

Scope of Educational Aid - II

External assistance for education is not as new as development planning, which in the contemporary context, is a post-war phenomenon. Indeed the early phase of the development of western education in Africa was mainly the result of external investment in education through religious missions. The contribution of metropolitan governments during this early period was modest. It was not until after World War I that the colonial governments began to assume a greater share of the burden of education. The role of the Mission in educational financing even up to the present time is still very significant, at the primary, teacher training, and secondary education levels. For even in the predominantly Moslem Northern states of Nigeria, the contributions of voluntary agencies most of which are religious missions, to education was quite large. As of 1967, the voluntary agencies controlled 533 out of a total 2,733 primary schools, about 60% of the secondary schools, and about 50% of the teacher training colleges in the Northern states.

The purpose of educational aid through the Missions was a mixed one. In general, it was motivated by the general desire to influence the cultural values of the society, and to construct a base for general development. The type of school organised by the missions depended primarily on the nature of the mission. If the mission was of an evangelical character, there was a greater possibility that its missionaries came from the artisan class in Europe and the United States and that they would teach manual skills in addition to the literacy classes found in all schools; if the mission was composed of individuals with a more liberal education the school curriculum reflected this. Anglican and Catholic missions -- which contributed the great majority -- generally established academic schools.[8] In spite of these minor variations in orientation of mission schools, the technical content of education of mission schools was low, while heavy emphasis was placed on literacy and humanistic quality. Nevertheless, the educational opportunities which mission school afforded, created the first generation of indigenous intellectual elite who spearheaded the nationalist movement that led to political independence.

From the standpoint of the manpower needs at the time, the educational system built and nursed by the Missions was geared to meeting the skill needs of that era; this in spite of low technical content of the curriculum. The manpower requirements at the time were mainly for clerical workers in administration and commerce and these were adequately provided by the mission schools.

The maintenance of cultural influence still remain one of the purposes of educational aid. However, the scope and nature of education have changed so radically that it has become relatively more difficult for the educational system to adjust fast enough to keep pace with development needs. In consequence, the challenge of educational aid from the viewpoint of donor countries is greater than it was when educational assistance was confined to religious missions. As indicated earlier, the rationale of educational aid is to supplement a country's capacity to produce those skills needed for rapid economic development. The challenge of educational aid to donor countries relates to identification of skill requirements, and adaptation of the educational system through aid policies to these requirements with a view to ensuring that the types of assistance provided have the greatest multiplier effect for human resource development.

One may ask, how has educational aid met this challenge? First, a review of the forms of educational assistance and its coverage. Educational aid involves the transfer of human and material resources from development countries to poor countries. The terms of the transfer may to a large extent be free, when it takes the form of grants-in-aid or it may involve future repayment of the full amount and annual interest thereon, when it takes the form of loans. In terms of volume, much of educational aid especially from bilateral agencies takes the form of grants-in-aid. The data[9] available for the DAC (Development Assistance Committee) countries indicate that for the period 1964-1966, the proportion of grants-in-aid to the total amount of aid for education capital projects ranges from 67% to 88%; the rest being accounted for by loans. However, most of the educational assistance for capital expenditure from multilateral agencies, takes the form of loans. Since the contribution of such agencies in relative and absolute terms to educational aid is still small, though increasing, it is perhaps safe to state that over two-thirds of educational aid to developing countries at present takes the form of grants-in-aid.

In terms of contents of aid, five categories can be identified:

(a) Capital grants for building and equipment of educational establishment,

(b) Supply of school equipment,

(c) Supply of teachers and administrative staff,

(d) Services -- administration and educational planning, educational research, organisation of training courses for teachers, organisation of conferences and seminars,

(e) Study abroad -- scholarships, fellowships, bursaries, aid visitorships tenable in donor-countries.

Of these, the supply of teachers is perhaps the most significant aspect of educational aid; both in terms of its share of the total and its multiplying effect in human resource development. The shortage of competent teachers is a "master bottleneck" retarding the quantitative and qualitative expansion of education in most developing countries. The scarcity exists in some countries at all levels of education, while in others it is keenly felt at secondary, technical and vocational schools. Although Nigeria has had an impressive educational progress in the sixties, educational development is still seriously bedevilled by inadequate supply of teachers. In consequence, there continues to be a lingering dependence on expatriate teachers, which in spite of the crash programme in teacher training and recent incentives to make teaching profession attractive, may continue for over a decade or even two for some parts of the country.

The donor agencies are acutely aware of the scarcity of teaching personnel in developing countries. This recognition is reflected in the high priority position given to the supply of teachers in their technical assistance programme. Available data indicate that teaching personnel constitutes between 75% -- 80% of educational experts supplied to developing countries by bilateral agencies. There is also an increasing number of volunteer teaching personnel. The data for DAC countries highlights some of the main features of this form of educational assistance.

TABLE THREE

Distribution of Technical Assistance Personnel to Developing Countries
from DAC Countries -- 1966-1968

Types of Personnel	1966		1967		1968	
	Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total
Teachers	37,554	36.2	41,485	36.8	37,718	34.6
Voluntary-Teachers	10,819	10.4	11,895	10.6	11,650	10.7
Others	55,271	53.4	59,181	52.6	59,639	54.7
TOTAL:	103,644	100.0	112,561	100.0	109,007	100.0

Source: Nigerian Human Resource Development and Utilization.

Table presents the distribution of technical assistance personnel to developing countries from DAC countries during 1966 to 1968. It is clear from the table that teaching personnel including volunteer teachers, whose costs to donor countries is not negligible, constituted about 46% of the total technical assistance personnel during the period. As a proportion of total education experts, teaching personnel including volunteer teachers accounted for an average of 90%; the others being administrators and advisers.

Aid financed scholarships and training grants constitute another form of assistance which has the greatest potential in fostering human resource development. Unlike the supply of teachers which tends to strengthen educational facilities for home-based training of skills, study abroad tends to impart the necessary skills in foreign countries and in most cases in the donor countries with a view to their eventual utilisation in the recipient countries. The need for this form of aid arises from the inadequacy and, in some cases, the inappropriateness of existing educational facilities in the recipient countries. Mainly because of the inadequacy of higher education facilities, there is a very large flow of students from developing countries to foreign institutions of higher learnings; for undergraduate and post-graduate studies. This situation applies even to those countries like Ghana and Nigeria where there has been a remarkable increase in university enrolments in recent years. Due to inadequate funds, to support the existing universities more than seventy per cent of those who are qualified for higher education cannot be admitted. As for post-graduate training, the opinion is gaining ground that this may well be an expensive luxury which universities . developing countries can ill-afford in the face of more pressing demands for educational development. In terms of academic disciplines, universities in developing countries are poorly equipped in terms of materials, equipment and teachers to cope with such essential disciplines like electronics, chemical engineering and other technological-oriented fields. Study abroad therefore fills these gaps in the educational system.

Aid financed scholarships and training grants are gaining importance in the overall educational aid programme of donor agencies. An average of 10% of the technical assistance disbursement of DAC countries to less developed countries during 1966 to 1968 was devoted to students and trainees. Indeed, for most developing countries, the number of fellowships for foreign study provided by donor agencies exceed the number that the recipient countries provide from their own resources. For the DAC countries, over 67,000 students and trainees from developing countries were financed in 1966, as against 74,000 in 1967 and 78,500 in 1968.

Of these numbers, over half were students, and the rest were trainees. In terms of distribution of students and trainees among disciplines and categories of professions, engineering and natural science have the highest priority, which underscores the point that the facilities for training people in these disciplines are limited in most developing countries. As for trainees, the bulk of which are for middle-level manpower, the emphasis has been on vocational training in various fields and trades.

Although data on the numbers of scholarships and trainees provided by foreign private companies and organisation in developing countries are difficult to come by, the pattern of educational assistance of this group tends to emphasise this form of assistance more than the others. Foreign private enterprises in developing countries are fully aware of the enormous cost of employing expatriate staff due to shortage of indigenous manpower. Moreover, foreign enterprises in most developing countries are being pressed by governments to increase the numbers of indigenous staff in management positions. For both economic and political considerations, these companies have been investing an increasing amount in training indigenous personnel in specific fields and trades with a view to ensuring the rapid replacement of expatriate staff.

No accurate information is available on the distribution of the various forms of educational assistance by levels of education. The available data on Nigeria is perhaps illustrative.

TABLE FOUR

Estimated External Aid to Education in Nigeria by Levels (1964)

	£ 000	% of Total
Primary education	180 - 250	3 - 3.5
Secondary education	1,700 - 1,860	24 - 29
Teacher training	1,200 - 1,400	18 - 20
Technical education	290 - 310	4 - 5
Universities	1,500 - 1,840	24 - 25
Services[1]	640 - 1,050	10 - 14
Scholarships	500 - 800	8 - 11
TOTAL:	6,010 - 7,510	100

Source: Nigerian Human Resource Development and Utilization.

1. Includes cost of different advisers to ministries of education, of planning teams and missions, etc., as well as assistance to schemes such as the development of educational television, or of aptitude testing.

As reflected in this Table, the high priority areas in the distribution of educational aid are: secondary education, university education and teacher training. On the other hand, the proportion of total aid which goes to technical education was very low; though slightly higher than the share of primary education. Available information indicates that, in recent years, the proportion of educational aid for university education has fallen, while the share of technical education in the total has been increasing.

Educational Aid -- An Assessment. III

The sources and volume of educational assistance to developing countries have in recent years been expanding. While there is still a great need for further expansion of the various forms of assistance, and a greater diversification of assistance, it is perhaps more relevant to assess the extent to which educational aid has complimented domestic effort in generating the desired skills which are indispensable for development. Since much of educational aid now takes the form of supply of teachers, scholarships and training grant, the relevance of these forms of assistance, both in terms of coverage and end-results for human resource development provides a useful starting point.

It is clear from the data provided that the supply of expatriate teachers can only fill a minor part of the demand for teachers in developing countries. For one thing, there is a limit, both physical and financial, to the amount of teachers that donor countries are in a position to supply. Since the advanced countries are equally faced with social and political pressure to expand educational facilities both qualitatively and quantitatively at home, the numbers of trained teachers that they can release for use in developing countries are not unlimited. Indeed, for technical and university education, most developing countries are already experiencing difficulties in recruiting capable expatriate staff, and have had to make use of second best. In terms of cost, expatriate teaching personnel are known to be expensive, not only to donor countries, but also to recipient countries to whom they are supposed to be free. The average cost for a United States Peace Corp volunteer has been estimated at $8,560 per annum; which is about the annual salary of a full professor in African universities. For educational experts recruited on the basis of economic incentives, the cost to donor countries will be significantly higher. To the recipient country, foreign teachers like other technical assistance personnel are an expensive lot. Often counterpart contribution is required, and when this is not the case, the recipient country has to provide housing, office space, transport, supplies, and counterpart personnel. These complements which in most cases have to be provided on "internationally acceptable standard" constitutes a real burden on the recipient country.

On the socio-cultural level, the presence of a large number of expatriate teaching personnel may constitute a source of embarrassment to nationalist leader. The desire of newly-independent governments to create a national spirit and identity through the schools necessarily clash with the heavy reliance on foreign teaching personnel. More than ever before, political leaders are clamouring for the adaptation of educational curricula to the socio-cultural milieu of their countries. Foreign teachers are ill-equipped to perform this task.

From the view point of economic development, it is generally recognised that inadequacy of teaching personnel is the great bottleneck that may limit human resource development regardless of the amount of external assistance. However, since the foreign supply of teaching personnel is not unlimited, the appropriate policy would appear to be that the limited supply of foreign teachers should be deployed into such educational sectors where they are most likely to have a multiplying effect on the supply of indigenous teaching manpower. In other words, foreign teaching personnel should be 'teachers of teachers' in developing countries. In this regard, the flow of foreign teaching personnel should be channelled largely to Teacher Training Colleges, and similar institutions. Moreover, since the shortage of indigenous teaching personnel is particularly acute in science, mathematics and technologically oriented subjects, these disciplines should be given top priority in the recruitment of foreign teachers for developing countries. On the other hand, both for social and economic reasons, the development of foreign teachers in primary schools, and for liberal art subjects in secondary grammar schools cannot be justified. Foreign teaching personnel could be used in Teacher Training Colleges to increase the supply of local teachers for primary and secondary grammar schools.

Foreign teaching personnel are at present not sufficiently deployed in the most critical educational sectors. There is a tendency towards heavy concentration in secondary education to the neglect of teacher training, and technical and vocational training which have the greater potential in orienting educational expansion to the development needs of the host countries. The distribution of foreign teaching personnel supplied under Technical Assistance Programme of the DAC countries for the period 1965 to 1969 shows that over 50% of foreign teachers were engaged in primary and secondary education, while just over 2% were in Teacher Training, and about 12% in technical and vocational training.

To achieve a neat balance in the distribution of expatriate teachers to the 'key' educational sectors is not however easy especially in countries starting from a very low educational base, and therefore lacking in adequate supply of indigenous teachers at almost all levels. The current data on the distribution of expatriate teachers in the Northern States of Nigeria is particularly revealing in this respect. While at the primary school level, there are only two expatriate teachers out of a total of 14,365 - the proportion of expatriate teachers at other levels of education (excluding the universities) for all the six states combined is about 42%. This overall figure underestimates the marked difference in the supply of indigenous teaching personnel among the six Northern States. For while the proportion of expatriate to the total, at the secondary school level is only 31% in Kwara State, the comparable figure for North Central State is about 56%; while in the remaining four states the proportion of expatriate to total average about 42%. The distribution of expatriate teachers to the various categories of secondary education, shows a heavy concentration on secondary grammar schools and teacher training colleges. The relatively low share of technical and vocational schools in the total of expatriate staff reflects the low priority given to this type of education in the Northern States. The proportion of expatriate teachers, at all levels of education in the Northern States, could have been higher but for the recent deployment of local teachers from the Western State of the Federation to schools in the Northern States.

Indeed, this type of inter-state flow of educational resources may be one way out of the heavy reliance on expatriate teachers in less crucial educational sectors. The pattern of supply of local teachers varies as between different states in the Federation. In the Southern States where educational expansion has been more rapid, the shortage is felt mainly in such critical disciplines as science and mathematics; but not at least quantitatively in liberal arts subjects and at primary school levels. Indeed, while the Northern States, as a group, is severely short of qualified primary school teachers, the Western State has an over-supply of primary school teachers and was able to afford a policy of closing down teacher training colleges which are geared to the production of teachers at elementary school. Inter-state flow of teachers at primary school level and for liberal arts subjects in secondary school can therefore take place between the Southern States and some Northern States, to the benefit of the overall educational programme of the nation as a whole.

Beyond national boundaries, there may also be a scope for human resource mobility in the educational sector while the developing countries as a whole are short of educational manpower, there are considerable variations in the pattern of supply and demand among the developing countries. Rather than rely on advanced countries for the supply of all types of educational manpower that may be required in each country, the developing countries could on a regional basis pool together their stock of educational manpower and channel this to critical areas within the region; while relying on the advanced countries only for those skills that are in short supply to the region as a whole. This is already happening, though in an unco-ordinated way. Indian teachers can be found fairly in good numbers at practically all levels of education; beyond primary school, in developing African countries. Also, Nigeria is already exporting a few teachers at university level to some African countries. This trend could be accelerated if the advanced countries could insist on regional pooling of educational resources as a condition for educational aid. An increasing proportion of the supply of technical assistance personnel in the educational sector that are being provided to some African countries by advanced countries could be met by a few countries within the region. The more the developing countries can be made to help themselves as a group, the greater would be the overall benefit of the assistance provided by the advanced countries.

It would be foolish however to ignore the politics of regional co-operation and the political motives of educational assistance which tends to promote inefficient use of educational resources. For even in Nigeria, where there are considerable variations among regions in human resource endowment, political considerations impede regional mobility of manpower. In consequence, the areas which are deficient in certain skilled manpower which is in over-supply in another area within the country prefer to use expatriates rather than Nigerians.

Although scholarships and training programmes may fill a big gap in the educational systems of developing countries, there has been increasing doubt about the effectiveness of this form of educational assistance in recent years. To be effective, scholarships and training programmes must be related to the needs of the economy, and relevant steps must be taken to ensure that the trainees return to their home country and are deployed into sectors where their skills can be properly utilised. These conditions are not, however, usually met. In most cases, the students who enjoy these facilities do not often choose the subjects which meet the priority needs of their countries. Even when this is not the case, the practical relevance of their training to the needs of their countries may be seriously in doubt. Foreign trained medical doctors, soil engineers, and technologists, often found on their return to their home countries that the level of training they have received abroad is far more advanced in relation to the crude facilities provided for their effective performance of their duties. This often leads to frustration and inefficiency.

There is also the high monetary cost of study abroad. It is difficult to get accurate data on the different elements of cost of foreign training both to the donor and recipient countries. These include expenditure on transportation to and from foreign countries, cost of student fees and maintenance. There is also the imputed subsidy received by foreign students by virtue of the fact that their fees cover only a small proportion of the current and capital costs of their education. It has been estimated in the case of the United Kingdom, that this imputed subsidy amounted to about £9 million a year which is about 56% of all other British contributions to education in the developing countries.

Arising from the feature of educational investment as the most mobile of all forms of capital is the problem of brain drain which has now become universal. While education tends to make a person who receives it more mobile than an uneducated person; study abroad tends to accentuate the mobility by making the educated person more aware of the alternative opportunities for his skill. This is particularly the case for persons with advanced professional or technological education whose professional scope may be limited in a developing country than in the advanced countries. In consequence, many developing countries have lost their best-trained people to developed countries where they are assured of better earnings, opportunities and amenities.

These limitations of scholarships and training programmes may lead one to suggest that better results could be obtained from this form of investment if it is directed towards the development of local institutions. However, this again raises some serious problems both in terms of the range of local facilities that would need to be developed and the extent to which such an alternative could be feasible for many developing countries. For, in the case of geographically small developing countries, foreign study even at undergraduate level, is cheaper than local university education. As Harbison has rightly observed: "Universities are very expensive institutions and small universities with many faculties are economically wasteful, since they cannot benefit from economies of scale".[10] Even where it is economically feasible to develop local institutions of higher learning, there are certain courses which could be better studied abroad than at home. Most of the courses which are technologically oriented falls within this range, since they involve some practical orientation which cannot be given in technologically backward underdeveloped countries. Indeed, experience seems to indicate that post-graduate education in most academic disciplines are more suitably undertaken abroad than in the universities of most developing countries. These universities often lack the necessary complements in terms of faculties, equipment and libraries to cope with post-graduate education; and neither can the number of those qualified for this type of training justify the enormous cost of establishing a fully-fledged graduate school in the universities. The question therefore is not that this form of assistance should be dispensed with, but that of determining a set of criteria that ensures that study abroad is geared to each country's priority needs and that the recipients of this assistance return home to exploit the new skills acquired abroad.

There are several policy issues which are here relevant both in regard to the donor agencies and the recipient countries. Who should choose the courses that should qualify for study abroad? On what criteria should this be chosen? Would it not be ideal for developing countries to dictate to donor countries and agencies the various discipline areas for which they require foreign scholarships and training grants, and in what countries they would like the specific courses to be studied? The practice in regard to these issues varies among developing countries. In some countries, like Nigeria where there has been some serious efforts at co-ordination of various forms of foreign awards, there have been some close relationship between the country's manpower needs and the courses for which foreign awards are granted. In the Nigeria case, it is the policy of the government not to award foreign scholarship for courses which are available locally. Moreover, the government decides the priority areas for which scholarships and training grants could be awarded by donor-countries and participate in the selection of students and trainees for the awards. However, there is a limit to the extent to which developing countries can control foreign offers of study abroad. To the donor countries, provisions for study abroad is a politically attractive form of aid, as it is often used as a means of spreading political and cultural values. Indeed, it is partly because of this that about 90 per cent of scholarships and training grants are given for study in institutions of the donor countries, rather than either in the recipient countries or in third countries.

To avoid waste in this form of assistance both the donor agencies and the developing countries need to rationalise the process of selection of students and courses and the placements of students and trainees in institutions of higher learning. The selection of students and courses could be improved by provisions of guidelines and priorities by the governments of developing countries. Although the institutions of higher learning in most developing countries may lack the facilities for some of the courses that would normally attract foreign award, there appears to be an increasing scope, at least in a few developing countries, for channelling foreign awards to local institutions. The donor-agencies need to relax the practice of tying award of scholarships and grants to institutions in their own countries.

Much foreign aid at present is concerned with the supply of teachers and technical assistance including scholarship and trainees. Human resource development is not however only a matter of developing formal education. There are two areas of human resource development in which educational assistance may be most relevant. These are in-service training and the building of incentives.

Most of the training grants awarded by donor countries to developing countries have been for training in specific skills and techniques. However, these have been limited to the public sector. There is a wide scope for improvement of in-service training as a means of inculcating the skills that are useful in the private sector. Foreign private firms in developing countries have, judging from the Nigerian experience, shouldered the burden of training indigenous personnel in recent years.

In building up the supply of indigenous personnel, these firms tend to use a combination of on-the-job training with a short period attachment of the trainees to their overseas head office. Although some of the people so trained do often leave the employment of the firms that trained them, for jobs elsewhere in both the private and the public sector, the supply of such trained personnel tends to be heavily concentrated in the few foreign private firms that can afford the heavy cost of such training.

In effect, the level of technical and managerial skills of indigenous private firms who are unable to bear the cost of on-the-job training tend to be considerably lower than that of their expatriate counterparts. There is a scope for educational assistance in this regard. The needs of indigenous private firms in developing countries, for technical and managerial skills may be identified and a programme of on-the-job training both locally and in foreign countries may be arranged by donor agencies. Such a programme may need to involve foreign private firms in developing countries, since it is they who may be able to provide local facilities for on-the-job training. There is also the need to encourage foreign private firms in developing countries to promote on-the-job training. Since they constitute an important means of bringing external aid for human resource development, developing countries should through tax incentives like selective tax remissions promote their efforts in this regard.

It is probably futile to increase the manpower resources of a nation through educational assistance if the motivation and incentive that are necessary for their use in appropriate ways are lacking. As Kelley has rightly observed "The structural relationship between educational attainment and occupation in developing countries suggest that education, in particular higher education, has been tradition-oriented. It had developed human resources on the basis of traditional status considerations in ways that are inconsistent with the realities of an industrial society. The result is a waste of educational resources. More important it has limited the intellectual lines of its constituents by leaving them in work roles that do not utilise their intellectual capacity!!"

There are various socio-economic dimensions to this problem; but we shall be limited to only one aspect which is relevant to our subject. This relates to the degree of knowledge of individuals about the opportunities which the labour market offers for various types of skills. It is not enough for educational planners to identify the shortage in particular skills; the opportunities which the possession of such skills afford to those who are qualified should also be made known. For one major difficulty in the markets for skill is the lack of information. An individual would prefer to possess the skill he knows that there is already a market rather than that for which due to ignorance he is unable to assess the available opportunities. In view of the rapidly changing industrial structure in developing countries, the gap in the knowledge of individuals about the demand for various types of skills is bound to be wide. One possibility is to rely on market forces to indicate the area of shortages and surpluses in the market for skill.

However, this may be a slow process because of the various forms of imperfections in the markets for skills. The other possibility is the development of a system of vocational guidance and counselling which would guide the individuals on the changing structure of the demand for skills. Vocational guidance and counselling is yet to be integrated into human resource planning in most developing countries. External educational assistance in this area would eliminate some of the wastes which are at present evident in the utilisation of manpower in developing countries.

Summary of Conclusions

Educational assistance is based on the premise that investment in human capital contributes significantly to economic growth; and the need to provide the developing countries with at least a minimum "stock" of the high-level manpower which they require for the effective utilisation of other resources.

Quantitatively, the contribution of educational assistance, has in recent years, been impressive. However, to be relevant to the economic and social needs of recipient countries, the strategies of educational assistance need to emphasise the qualitative rather than the quantitative dimension. In this regard, educational assistance need to be allocated as to maximise the multiplier effects; contributing as much as possible to the accumulation of skills in recipient countries.

The scope for educational assistance also needs to be widened beyond its narrow confines; i.e. supply of teachers and study abroad. There is a wide area for new initiatives for educational assistance; a few of which have been outlined above.

FOOTNOTES

1. See among others: W.C. Bowen: Economic Aspects of Education: Three Essays, Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University (1964).

2. See among others: F. Harbison and C.A. Myers: Education, Manpower and Economic Growth, McGraw-Hill Book Co., N.Y.

3. See among others: F.H. Harbison, "Human Resources Development Planning in Modernising Economies", International Labour Review, LXXXV No. 5, May 1962.

4. United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America: Economic Bulletin for Latin America, Vol. XI No. 2, October 1966.

5. O. Olakanpo: "A statistical Analysis of some Determinants of Entrepreneurial Success: A Nigerian Case Study". Nigerian Journal of Economic & Social Studies, Vol. X, No. 2, July 1968.

6. United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America: Economic Bulletin for Latin America, Vol. XI, No. 2, October 1962.

7. F. Harbison & C. Myers: op. cit.

8. L. Gray Cowan & others (Ed): Education and Nation-Building in Africa, p. 4

9. OECD: Development Assistance: Efforts and Policies of the Members of the Development Assistance Committee, 1968 Review Chapter IX.

10. F. Harbison: "The African University and Human Resource Development", Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1965, p. 62.

THE ROLE AND RATIONALE FOR EDUCATIONAL AID IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

Hyun Ki Paik, Director
Central Education Research Institute, Seoul, Korea

1. Introduction

What educational aid attempts to provide various developing countries, particularly of those in Asia, must be considered in relation to the socio-economic problems and issues that are an undercurrent to and which profoundly influence societies in the region. What is happening in Asian countries indeed constitutes a poignant drama, as Gunner Myrdal aptly put it in his monumental work, Asian Drama.[1] Any educational system not only must function against this backdrop, it must change its role from that of a transmitter of traditional values, practices, ideas and ideals to that of a transmuter of culture. This is the historic significance of education in Asia. Social changes in the developing societies of Asia have many facets, among them being political development, urbanization and modernization. In order to have educational aid correspond to these developmental requirements, it is necessary to analytically relate aid programs to the facets as well as the dimensions of social change and also of other socio-economic factors. The purpose of this paper, then, will be an attempt to illustrate the significant implications of those socio-economic factors that are closely related to educational development in Asia, with special attention to Korea, and to provide needed background information to understand the necessity, rationale and role of educational aid in developing countries.

2. Socio-Economic Problems

Most Asian countries, including Korea, are, firstly, going through the process of decolonization and the establishment of national identities. Many of Asia's peoples were once not as intimately involved in the decision-making process as they are today because they were not the masters of the decision makers in the past. Now, however, they are not only in a position to make their own decisions but they are also faced with the need to alter certain decisions made in the past and now have the desire to become friends and partners with other peoples in the shaping of their own destinies. However, they found the realization of their own destinies in a manner attuned to the needs and desires of free, developing societies is no easy matter. The power to decide alone is not enough, the ability to determine the ends and the means to those ends wisely is more essential. The wrong decisions can only lead to retrogression. Wise choosing requires awareness of the range of possibilities and capacity to anticipate the consequences of each. Effective choosing requires the ability to persuade others that a particular choice is a good one and hence worthy of support.

---

[1] Gunner Myrdal, Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations, Vol. III, c1968, pp. 1531-2284.

It would be idle not to recognize that in many Asian countries the power to make decisions resides in a relatively small elite, that this elite is burdened by a multitude of problems, lacks the self-confidence that is the fruit of long experience, and does not include many seasoned theoretical and practical educationalists. Among the masses, who must be persuaded and remain persuaded, ideas about education are inevitably vague, general and often unrealistic. Moreover, the political situation in Asia is not like that in countries with democratic political system conducive to winning votes based on proposals and the reasoned defense of specific public policies. It is, rather, often conducive to the wooing of a person or a particular political group who appeals to popular feelings. When politics is considered, it refers to party politics which even resorts to violence when it sees fit to do so.

Economic development in Asian countries has been a slow and difficult process with a few exceptions such as Japan and Singapore. The modernization of a traditional economy is never an easy task, and it is more difficult for those nations with a literacy low rate. The change from a large agricultural base in terms of people engaged in agriculture to a large industrial base has been rather slow, and thus there are still large agricultural communities with a growing but nevertheless limited industrial labour.

Referring specifically to Korea, like many other countries in Asia, this country is still poor, but "she does not create an impression of acute poverty"[2] as in some Asian countries. This may be so partly because the distribution of wealth is not over concentrated in a few, partly because (for climatic reasons) the small homes are solid, and partly because with a literacy rate the self-confidence of the people is high. Korea's chief asset is undoubtedly her well-educated, industrious and sophisticated people. Just over 55 percent of the population is engaged in agriculture, forestry and fisheries, while nearly one-third of the people live in towns with over 20,000 inhabitants. Korean culture is particularly conducive to enterprise, and experience of liberation, inflation, war and economic growth accelerated by economic planning since 1962, have created ready acceptance of social and technical change. It has stimulated popular desire to move swiftly into a place in the modern, technological world.

Many Asian societies, including Korea, have been undergoing the process of this transition. Especially, Korea is witnessing rapid social change and is being gradually transformed from a pre-modern state into a modern nation, from a traditional agrilcutral society into a small but a growing industrial society. Traditional elements, however, are still found side by side with the modern and so the country appears sometimes modern and sometimes traditional. Taking this into consideration, some scholars characterize Korea as a "semi-advanced country". One sociologist recently pointed out the dual structure of Korean society.[3] Duality is found not only in the nation's social characteristics but also in its political institutions. That is, Korea is divided in two, one democratic and one communist. Even in respect to social phenomena, many contrasts and contradictions are found side by side. Some of these contradictions as pointed out by a sociologist,[4] are:

1) The co-existence of and conflict between former feudal authoritanism and democratic ideals which have not as yet become a part of Korea;

2) The co-existence of a pre-modern agrarian economy and the administrative and productive structure of a modern industrial state;

---

[2] L.B. Pearson, Partners in Development, Peager, 1970, p. 399.

[3] Hyo Jae Lee, "The Social Structure and Cultural Patterns in Korea", a paper presented in 1967 at the Seminar on Education and National Development sponsored by the Korean Society for the Study of Education.

[4] Hyo Jae Lee, Ibid.

3) The economic and cultural discrepancies between urban and rural areas; and

4) The co-existence of and conflict between a new and an old culture.

This duality in Korea's political, economic, cultural and social structure is considered a major cause of the weakening of the social fabric in Korea. Therefore the mobilization of efforts and the drafting of strategies for realizing the renewed unity of Korean society are urgently called for in order to realize this much-needed change.

In the meantime, we cannot neglect another fact having great influence, that of inheritance. Korea was bequeathed her own system of education by the Yi-Dynasty but with Japanese colonial rule in Korea from 1910 to 1945, this country was profoundly influenced by the so-called "European-Japanese System". The Japanese borrowed the European dual-track system and adapted it to their own requirements and in addition altered it for application to the so-called "inferior" colony of Korea. Liberation from Japanese colonial rule was, indeed, a turning point for Korean education, from totalitarian to democratic modes of teaching and from centuries-old feudalistic to liberal concepts. However, all has by no means been smooth sailing in the past two decades for Korea's educational efforts. True, a new start was made immediately after the liberation, but the philosophical traits of the past were too deeply rooted to be eradicated in a few years. What exists will not be overthrown, though it will certainly be modified. In the modification process, Korea was particularly susceptive to the American system of education because the United States was considered the liberator, even though the country is still split, and because the U.S. went to considerable pains to persuade Korea of the merits of her particular educational ideals and practices.

Finally, it is a paradox that Korea, which is an independent nation, is still dependent, particularly on the United States, to a certain degree. To attain or even approximate her aspirations for future, it is the feeling of many Koreans that more assistance must come from the United States or any other free country, whether it is in the form of men or money, in order to attain a high level of self-sufficiency and independent development.

2. Trends in Education and Rationale of Educational Aid

Despite the many difficulties and problems outlined above, there is an increasing awareness in Asia of the important role education must play in providing the basis and means for dealing with such difficulties and problems. Such trends are, first of all, the desire to attain political stability to insure the continuing development of national institutions as well as the political structure itself. This will require social harmony and national integrity, and its attainment will depend in great part upon education. Where there is the trend toward rapid urbanization there is need to hasten the process of adaptation to urban life.

The second fact is that of increased concern for population problems which gives rise to the question of whether Asia's educational systems can adapt policies and objectives in relation to population control without violating human dignity and freedom of choice. While measure aimed at family planning will not have an immediate impact on this problem, others place more emphasis on this family planning. In Korea however, stress has been given to making family planning part of educational planning. Thus, various projects for family planning through education in the awareness of population have been initiated and are at present being carried out.

The third trend is the demand for better living standards for all and the corresponding search for ways, including industrialization, to achieve increased production and a more just distribution of wealth as well as the development of the skills, attitudes and habits required by a changing economy. Education is in great demand because it is associated with advancement. During the past few years, Korea has been undergoing comprehensive changes, a veritable revolution which has included the modernization of many established aspects of life. The pace of change is of necessity faster than the rate with which the people can acquaint themselves and make themselves ready for change. The rapid changes taking place under social and economic reforms is resulting in the abandonment of traditional values to the extent that the public is ignorant about what should constitute the basis of individual and social conduct. This is one of the major problems facing education.

In order to remedy as many of the ills of education as possible in the shortest time, Korea has been making an allout effort to bring about an innovation of education aimed at a basic reform of all levels of education from elementary school to university. An educational charter outlining the educational goals of the nation was formulated and announced in 1968. In the following year, the Comprehensive Long-Term Educational Planning Council was established under the chairmanship of the prime minister and given responsibility for the successful accomplishment of this reform. Several ministries, agencies and private individuals are coordinating their efforts with those of the council, and the aims and objectives accepted as the basis for the reform are those it is generally agreed are the best at the present stage of development in Korea. However, there is not yet sufficient coordination among the various individuals and agencies involved in the implementation of these goals, while the ways and means adopted for the implementation of the objectives are not the best mainly due to the lack of knowledge and skills on the part of planners, administrators and educators. In many other countries of Asia there will be similar attempts at change as development policies are applied, but these nations will also face similar problems and there will be unwanted side-effects. In addition, they will also find there are limited human and material resources to introduce and apply new methods.

Considerating all these facts, I consider that any developing country trying to correct the weaknesses and imbalances in their educational system must be financially and technically assisted to do so. Any country trying to reform its educational system in the context of its socio-economic position must also be helped to relate the reform to their developmental requirements so that true progress and development will result. Such aid should include a number of activities, namely,

1) educational planning and the application of systems analysis to the learning process and to specific projects;

2) research applied the redefinition of educational objectives such as social mobility and skill levels geared to the absorptive capacity of the labour market; and

3) the development of new technologies whereby a combination of elements can help to achieve an educational breakthrough.

Educational aid of this sort is essential for thus a developing country will further develop to achieve self-sufficiency and a high level of self-induced development.

EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS IN DEVELOPING AREAS: WITH ZAMBIA (AFRICA) AND APPALACHIA (USA) AS EXAMPLES

Franklin Parker,
West Virginia University

War, unfortunately, more than peace, energizes people and nations and speeds up the process of change. World War II marked the end of colonialism and the rapid march to independence of former colonial territories. Fifty one nations signed the United Nations Charter on October 24, 1945. Now 126 countries are UN members. The 75 new nations independent since 1945 comprise the majority of the world's people, 600 million of them in South Asia alone. They threw off colonial rule. They became political masters in their own house. They now yearn to shed foreign economic dominance. They yearn to become masters of their own economic destiny. Just as good sometimes comes from evil, so the imperial bee fertilized the colonial flower it robbed. The East wanted what the West had. The newly independent nations have set their minds on Western technology and science. They have set their hearts on rapid economic growth. They want and expect the material benefits of modern progress. Like the West, the developing nations have formulated economic plans, development plans and educational plans. They have asked for and have been given development loans, technical assistance and educational aid. Yet the gulf widens between the haves and the have nots, between Barbara Ward's The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations, between rising expectations and a poor return for their effort. The faster the tortoise runs, the more he falls behind the hare. The development gap, the vast educational problems, and the current forces at work in developing countries can perhaps be seen better in long-range perspective.

Educational Planning in Historical Perspective[1]

Educational theorizing, as against the 20th century's more precise planning, has had a long history going back before Plato's classic, The Republic. He pondered the place of education in national development and he anticipated some important aspects of modern educational planning: the important selection of talent, the interdependence of political aims and educational means, and the use of the whole life of the state for training in citizenship. But his was a closed society rather than an open society, and developing countries today still strongly reflect the age-old structured societies of Plato's time in which the idea of progress was limited, class division was fixed, and the world's work was done by slave power. Theorists who followed Plato, from Aristotle to Rousseau, similarly probed the role of education in society and, while their ideas were influential later, they too were concenred mainly with social elites in fixed societies rather than the world's laboring majority in open, free, and democratic societies. Politics did not require, economics did not demand, fixed class structure did not permit, and a bare subsistence living would not allow working people's children anything else but informal family education.

What altered the long centuries of slow-paced change and what galvanized the idea of progress was a series of revolutions, industrial revolutions. Water power and windmill power were the basis of the first industrial revolution in the early 18th century. This power drove wooden machines of crude to growing complexity in grinding corn, pumping water, spinning cloth, and crushing ore. In so doing they multiplied many times what simple muscle power had long done. The benefits of the first industrial revolution expanded the educational elite to include a new entrepreneur class and produced a proliferation of grammar schools, academies, and university colleges. The children of the working masses were little affected.

Primary school for the children of the laboring poor had to await the invention of the steam engine, the vehicle of the second industrial revolution. Steam power improved mining so that first iron and then steel made possible new machines and new machine tools. The factory replaced the mill and the manufacturing process organized large bodies of workers to perform a series of specialized operations. Again, a minority was enriched and the proceeds went into elite education. It took a generation or two of factory workers to build up the 19th century industrial surpluses which for the first time in human history opened the way for universal free primary education. In 1808, the Prussian Department of Public Instruction sent 17 teachers to Switzerland to study Pestalozzian teacher training methods. By 1840, Prussia had 38 normal schools and 30,000 new primary schools. Attendance was compulsory in the Velkschule and long before the end of the 19th century it was indeed universal and free.

In France by 1833, under Francois Guizot, first minister of public instruction, each local commune had to have an elementary school and teachers were required to be trained and certified. Thirty-seven years later, in 1870, the French attributed Prussia's victory over them to better Prussian schools. Thereafter, in the 1880's France strengthened primary education for its masses. In England, the Reform Act of 1832 staved off revolution and in 1870, W.E. Forster, a Quaker, introduced successfully in Parliament the English Elementary Education Act. In the United States after 1837, in the New England states and across the western states after the Civil War, public elementary education became firmly established. Thus, steam power made possible mid-19th century prosperity in whose aftermath primary schools were planned and extended to all. The more expensive secondary education called for university trained and better paid teachers. These secondary schools remained the privilege of a small minority, seldom over 10% of the secondary school age group in Europe and North America. The rest of the adolescents of the industrialized nations had to wait for the third industrial revolution.

Electricity, newly harnessed and abundant, energized the third industrial revolution in the early 20th century and spread wealth more widely. New types of factories, many more and newer industries, and a more flexible economy emerged -- all requiring new kinds of specialists, new managerial talent, and a more intelligent labor force which only the secondary schools could prepare. The expansion of secondary education has been uneven. The United States and the Soviet Union have led in universal secondary education. Progress has been rapid but still not complete in Britain and the European countries, which still have truncated secondary school systems. But the principle of high schools for all has been long accepted, the movement is in full swing, and an inevitable consequence has been the opening wider of the doors of higher education. The fact is that education feeds on itself; the more one has the more one wants for himself and his children.

Now in the 1970's, we are well into the throes of a fourth industrial revolution, one phase of which is guided by electronic computers, and a coming phase fueled by atomic energy. Fully automatic factories are on the way. We can anticipate in the wake of the fourth industrial revolution a rich multiplicity of consumer goods, leisure and the problems that go with vast unspent time, and the rapid expansion of mass media that contracts time and space. Not just secondary education but higher education is almost economically possible for all. Indeed, the complexities of life for the rest of this century will require all the education we can get to live wisely and well.

This pattern of progress, this march of the industrial revolutions, this technology and science, this material progress is what developing countries see and want and are planning for. But theirs is a race against time and against tradition. Population growth has mounted in developing countries as more children survive birth and improved health and medicine make for longer life. The population explosion and consequent increases in children wanting to go to school create for the developing nations part of the widening gap with advanced countries. Also, technology required supporting services, so that a specialist needs the support of many sub-specialists, a technician needs the support of many skilled workmen, and so on. Advanced nations have the facilities and the backlog of schooled manpower to produce various levels of workers as needed. Developing nations do not have the backlog of time nor the experience. They know that this technical gap can only be met by vigorous economic growth and by intense educational planning. Their leaders, attempting to do these very things, inevitably meet obstacles arising from tradition, from conservative religions, and from social values tied to a communal rural past that was for so long safe and comfortable and is difficult to give up. Western man had centuries to transform himself from a peasant to an industrial man. Developing countries must make this transformation in a decade or two. And the pressures upon them and their people are enormous.

Some Educational Choices Facing Developing Countries[2]

The above overview may provide a vantage point from which to see the educational choices facing a developing country, where everything is in short supply: money, teachers, and facilities. First there is the choice between the levels of education to be supported. What investment emphasis should be placed on primary, secondary and higher education? If top priority goes toward universal primary education, is it at the expense of the other levels? A second choice is between numbers and quality. If primary education is to be compulsory and universal, can it be worthwhile with many unqualified teachers and few textbooks? The dropout rate because of poor teaching and insufficient textbooks may sabotage the achievement of universal primary schooling. Better strategy might be to forego universal primary education for a few years and to concentrate on a higher quality of education by trained teachers using an adequate supply of good textbooks. A third choice, mainly in higher education, concerns balancing science and technology with liberal acts. The practical needs of the developing country dictate only part of the answer. The financial cost is important since science and engineering cost roughly four times more per student than education in the arts, humanities and law. Thus, an expenditure in science and engineering may have to be balanced by reducing by four times the expenditure in liberal arts studies. Such a move in Latin America, for example, where liberal arts studies predominate, would raise objections from students, parents and the public.

A fourth choice lies between formal education and on-the-job training. It has been found more efficient to give potential craftsmen a general secondary education and then to let them develop skills on the job. Shifting the responsibility for on-the-job training to industry makes more funds available for formal education. A fifth choice has to do with incentives. How do you get people into occupations needed in a developing country? Can you rely on the free play of the labor market? Or do you need to offer pay and status incentives for needed skills? Iran, for example, has 10 doctors to every nurse, when it should be the other way around. But nurses' salaries and status are so low that entrants into nursing are few. What incentives can Iran use in its schools and on the job to produce more nurses than doctors? A sixth choice concerns the very purpose of education. Should schools and curriculum and teaching methods be organized mainly to fulfill the individual student's needs, desires and hopes? Or should a school system be primarily directed toward national needs? The answer may depend on political and national conditions but it is a hard choice for developing nations. These then are some choices to be faced and decisions to be made -- all amid a host of educational problems.

Some Educational Problems Facing Developing Countries[3]

Scarce resources of all kinds to meet high aspirations characterize developing countries today. The catalog of problems is so immense that only major ones need be noted. Rapid population growth is a major problem already mentioned, with younger age groups most numerous and these swamping existing facilities and soon overburdening new facilities. While the population explosion is world wide, it is more marked in poorer countries and slows development. Another major problem is the inherited colonial education system which is invariably elitest and highly selective. It does well for the few it favors but wastes the potentialities of the majority it rejects. The resources in money and teachers are simply not available for mass expansion.

It is difficult for developing people to break out of the cluster of forces that bind them to the past: these include inherited tradition, conservative religions, and the safe harbor of tribal values. Change occurs but slowly and the orientation is to the past rather than to the present and the future. The curriculum content does little to enhance the best of the traditional culture nor is it vital enough to bridge many of the fractures caused by the impact of western material values.

Too many schools are dreadfully formal. Repetition and memorization without understanding are all too common. Creativity, insight and the practical application of what is learned too seldom occur. Teacher supply is short and those who are teachers are often untrained and uninspiring. Staff from overseas, usually in secondary schools, are expensive and they do not stay long enough. Local loyalties are powerful and the idea of nationhood is weak or non-existent. Subjects which might lend themselves to national consciousness, such as geography and history, are too often based on the geography and history of Europe rather than to the immediate area. Multiple languages in one country require the use of a European language as the medium of instruction, and too often these languages are poorly taught and the nuances little understood. Academic education in rural areas where agriculture provides the main livelihood is often detrimental. Too many school leavers, particularly at the secondary school level, are ill-prepared for work in their rural home communities. They often cannot find jobs and so flock to the urban centers where they are frequently frustrated and shiftless.

To offset these and other educational problems, developing countries have made large efforts at educational planning aimed at stimulating economic growth.

Does Education Accelerate Economic Growth?[4]

Economic growth is a complex phenomenon. Only recently have some economists affirmed education to be a positive factor in economic growth. Benjamin Franklin over two hundred years ago sensed this positive relationship. In 1749 he advocated the introduction of the Academy in Philadelphia. This was a new type of secondary school, practical and terminal and intended for success in life; as against the long established Latin Grammar School, where the intellectually elite were prepared for entry into the colonial colleges. Franklin's Academy emphasized practical subjects, such as mathematics, science, English, and surveying, and the useful contribution these subjects could make to agriculture, commerce and industry. In 1862 the U.S. Congress passed the Morrill Act, which established land grant colleges to promote scientific agriculture and mechanical arts (now called engineering). This Act put the practical aspects of higher education at the service of the total economy, made such knowledge available to all classes of youth, and by extension services made it available to the farmer in the field. In the late 19th century and early 20th century a factory efficiency movement swept American industry, guided by time and motion study experts like Frederick Taylor and Frank B. and Lillian M. Gilbreth (see Cheaper by the Dozen). This efficiency movement attracted the attention of school administrators at the turn of the century when the children of immigrants swelled American school enrollments. The resulting intensive record keeping, child accounting, and school surveys have been described critically by Raymond E. Callahan in his book with the intriguing title, Education and The Cult of Efficiency: A Study of the Social Forces that have Shaped the Administration of the Public Schools (University of Chicago Press, 1962).

Of special significance to developing countries was the Nigerian Education Commission headed by Sir Eric Ashby which met in the late 1950's. Economist Frederick Harbison of Princeton University served on that commission and in its report, Investment in Education (Lagos: Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1960), he stressed the key role of manpower training in the economic development of low-income countries. The report projected future manpower needs of Nigeria to 1980 and treated these projections as goals for the educational system. Since then, in the early 1960's, the research of economist Edward F. Denison attributed 23% of the economic growth of the United States between 1929 and 1957 to education. He also attributes an additional 18% of the economic growth during these same years to advances in knowledge. These figures have been confirmed by economist Theodore W. Schultz. In a more recent study, Denison claimed that between 1955 and 1962 one-fifth of the increase in national income per person employed was a result of workers' higher educational levels. He added that for that same period, advances in knowledge, coming mainly from higher education, added another one fourth to the increase in national income per person employed.

These studies conclude that schooling and advances in knowledge are both sources of economic growth, that unlike limited natural resources they are man-made resources which can be continually improved, and that investment in schooling is a major source of human capital. One hopes that these findings in the United States may be applicable to developing nations as well. One would like to believe that quantitatively and qualitatively the school systems in developing countries will increasingly discover and cultivate potential talent, increase people's capacity to adjust to change, and particularly enable workers at all levels to adjust to the inevitable job changes which time and circumstances are sure to bring.

Leaving aside the all important matter of qualitative aspects of a developing country's school system, the pressure for schooling is so great that planning in terms of quantity has been given initial priority. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in Africa's continental approach to educational expansion.

Africa: Continental Education Planning[5]

Many of Africa's new leaders are former teachers who view education as a vital catalyst in modernizing their nations. Their drive to advance African education resulted in a continent-wide conference on educational needs and goals which was held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in 1961. It was sponsored by UNESCO and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa and was attended by Ministers of Education from 34 African countries. It was then estimated that 80 per cent to 85 per cent of Africans over age 15 were illiterate, nearly twice the world average; that fewer than half of middle Africa's 25 million children of school age would complete primary school; that fewer than 3 out of every 100 would enter secondary school; and that fewer than 2 out of every 1,000 would receive any sort of higher education. At Addis Ababa the following educational targets were set for continental attainment by 1980: universal free primary education (first six years of schooling), with 20 per cent of these primary school leavers to enter secondary schools and about 2 per cent of these eventually to enter higher education. Expenditures on African education for this 20-year period were expected to rise from $450 million in 1960 to $2.2 billion by 1980. These UNESCO -- set goals provided African countries with periodic education growth targets at which to aim and these targets encouraged them to align their economic priorities for increased investments in education.

An educational assessment for the five years from 1960 to 1965 was provided by another conference co-sponsored by UNESCO and the Organization of African Unity which met in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1968. It showed that primary school enrollment, which was 36% of the relevant age group in 1960, reached 44% in 1965, 3% below the 47% target for 1965 (that is, fell short of target by 1.1 million pupils). Secondary school enrollment which was 3% of the relevant age group in 1960, reached just under 5% in 1965, more than 1% below the 1965 target of 6% (that is, fell short of target by 272,000 pupils). Only in higher education was the Addis Ababa target slightly overfilled: the enrollment of .02% of the relevant age group in 1960 reached .03% in 1965 -- .01% above the Addis Ababa target for 1965.

The shortcomings identified at Nairobi indicated that the Addis Ababa targets for 1980 might not be achieved. The reasons include a high dropout rate and undue repetition of pupils in primary grades, caused in part by larger total population and larger school-age population than anticipated. Addis Ababa called for a 5% annual increase in primary school enrollment but the average annual increase from 1960 to 1965 was 1.8%. The result is a growing illiteracy. On the basis of 1960-1965 trends and assuming that at least four years of education are necessary for literacy, it was estimated that 3,816,000 Africans or 71% (as against 54% forecast) of those at age 6 in 1960 would be adult illiterates at age 15 in 1969 and that 4,160,000 Africans or 69% of those at age 6 in 1965 would be adult illiterates when they reach age 15 in 1974. Nor were Addis Ababa targets reached in the number of trained primary and secondary school teachers, although substantial gains were made. The educational shortages are mammoth and advancement is limited by the pace of economic development. Old solutions must be applied more quickly, among them more money for more schools and more aid from more of the advanced countries. And, new solutions must be found.

Lest we, in advanced countries become too sanguine about our own success, let us recall that there are in advanced countries now minority groups among whom and depressed areas in which education and income are strikingly deficient. To round out this paper I would like to present two specific cases, one of Zambia in south-central Africa, and the other of Appalachia in the United States.

Zambia (Formerly Northern Rhodesia)[6]

Size and Location

Slightly larger than Texas, land-locked Zambia in South Central Africa has about 4.5 million people, consisting of 4,417,200 Africans, over 99% of the population (75 tribes, 4 main African languages for school purposes); 70,000 whites (1 white to 65 blacks), mainly from Britain and South Africa; and 12,800 Asians and Eurafricans. Zambia is the world's third largest copper producer, but mining employs only a fraction of the people. Subsistence farming provides the main livelihood.

Background

Missionary explorer David Livingstone's travels (1850-1870) opened and Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Co. administered Northern Rhodesia from 1899 to 1924. It was then administered by the British Colonial Office under a governor and an increasingly powerful white settler Legislative Council from 1924 to 1953. It was part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland from 1953 to 1963 and became independent as Zambia in 1964.

African Education Deficiencies at Independence

African leaders claim that during Federation, 1953-1963, Zambia's copper income went to bolster Southern Rhodesia's economy and that the educational funds mainly benefited the tiny white-Asian-Eurafrican enrollment in the 3 territories making up the Federation at the expense of the much larger African enrollment in Zambia. A 1964 United Nations report stated that despite some 70 years of mission and later government effort "...the Africans of Zambia on the eve of independence are in terms of the education they need one of the least prepared populations in the whole of Africa." A 1961 school facilities estimate held that out of 1,000 African children, 920 can enter school and stay 4 years, 305 can stay 6 years, 118 can remain 8 years, 22 can stay through 2 years of secondary school, and 1 can complete 6 years of secondary education for university entrance.

Dual School Comparison, 1962-1963

	Non-African	African
8 yrs. Elementary Education	compulsory	non-compulsory (except in some urban areas - 4 to 6 yrs.)
4 to 6 yrs. Secondary Education	entry automatic	entry competitive and selective
Elementary and Secondary Enrollment	18,634 pupils	348,630 pupils
Teacher : Pupil ratio	1:29	1:51
Cost per pupil per year	$252	$33.60

Barely 50% of the African children in 3 of Zambia's 8 provinces received any schooling at all. Of Africans over age 21, one-half of the men and over four-fifths of the women have never been to school. On the basis of the 1963 census it was found that 75% of the African males and 93% of the African females over the age of 16 had fewer than 4 years of elementary education. Over half the urbanized Africans had no education. Fewer than 14,000 Africans had any secondary education. The 15-to-30 age group with the most education had enough to awaken ambitions for a fuller life but not enough to attain such a goal.

School Integration, 1964

The ex-Federal white, Asian, and Eurafrican schools were designated as fee-paying schools and the African schools as non-fee-paying schools. All schools were opened to all races. The Education Act of 1966 legalized the integrated school system. A National Council of Education was inaugurated on March 9, 1966. By 1966, half of the children in fee-paying schools were non-Europeans. Integration occasioned no flagrant incidents although some protesting white parents and teachers left the country.

Post-Independence Reform

Integration and school expansion were planned as part of the 1966-1970 Development Plan. In 1965, one of the 4 vernaculars (depending on the region) became a required subject in fee-paying schools. The intent is to use English as the medium of instruction in all schools (the medium for Africans had been a vernacular to the 5th year and English thereafter). The increased use of English means that African teachers' facility must be strengthened in training colleges and in-service courses. An English Language Centre has opened and others are planned. English as a common medium of instruction paved the way for common syllabuses in all subjects for all schools. A stronger agricultural bias in all related courses is underway. The Zambia College of Agriculture has been expanded. Locally written and published textbooks reflect a national viewpoint and oppose racism. Educational broadcasting (radio and TV) is in progress for schools, teachers, and adult instruction. Rapid enrollment in the University of Zambia, opened in 1966, eventually will provide physicians, scientists, engineers, and secondary school teachers.

Evaluation

The educational expansion foreseen in the 1966-1970 Development Plan is larger than that attempted in most African countries, with expansion of secondary education planned at twice the rate anticipated in Kenya or Ghana. Universal primary education is planned earlier and at higher expenditures than Addis Ababa targets (6.9% Gross Domestic Product, 1966; 7.5% GDP, 1970). Zambia intends to invest its copper income in rapid agricultural development, but unemployment of many school-leavers is certain during the 1970's.

Appalachia (Eastern USA Mountain Ranges)[7]

Size and Location

Appalachia contains 397 counties in 13 states (175,000 square miles). The 18 million people living along the mountain ranges make up the USA's heaviest poverty concentration.

Background

The region was settled mainly by Scotch-Irish indentured servants who left the eastern coast for the mountain foothills. The harsh isolation suited their independent spirit and many stayed as mountain people: isolated, clannish, superstitious, and backward. By the mid-19th century, wrote Harry Caudill in Night Comes to the Cumberland, the mountaineer had developed "as he is to an astonishing degree even to this day". (page 31)

Exploitation

First, Appalachia's rich forests for national city growth and then its coal for national power fuel were exploited by outside companies which bought large land tracts and mines cheaply. Resources and profits left the region. Coal camps, company towns, and union strife blighted the land; coal's undiversified economy alternately fed and starved the people. Efficiency and automation displaced two-thirds of the coal miners. Out-migration of the ambitious, the educated, and the skilled left behind the mainly unambitious and unskilled people conditioned to life on welfare. Michael Harrington in The Other America: Poverty in the United States offered this gloomy estimate: "It seems likely that the Appalachians will continue going down, that its lovely mountains and hills will house a culture of poverty and despair, and that it will become a reservation for the old, the apathetic, and the misfits." (page 43)

Income Deficiencies

Although the figures below are from the 1960 census, it is believed that the as-yet unavailable 1970 census figures will substantiate the proportional differences in income.

Yearly Income per Family	Appalachia	Rest of USA
Under $3,000	30.7%	20.5%
$3,000 - $10,000	60.6%	63.9%
Over $10,000	8.7%	15.6%
Income per capita	$1,405 ($840 in some Kentucky counties)	$1,901.
Unemployment	7.1%	4.0%

Educational Deficiencies (Per 100 Persons Over Age 25)

Less than 5th grade completed	11.6 persons	8 persons
Finished high school	32.3 "	41.8 "
4 years of college	5.2 "	7.9 "
Teachers' salaries (1961-1962)	$4,800	$6,200
School expenditure/child	$ 337	$ 518
Rural population	52.7%	30.1%
School dropouts: 1-12 grades	65%	36.2%
Per 10 pupils in grade 1:		
Complete high school	4 pupils	6 pupils
Enter college	1 + "	2 + "
Complete college	1 - "	1 "
Teacher turnover	14.2%	8.2%

Appalachia is an under-educated region with a high rural population, a high rate of school dropout and school retardation, a meager tax base, a rapid turnover of young teachers, and a lower pro-rata share of federal aid than the rest of the USA because of its ignorance of fund availability and its lack of skill in applying for grants.

Attitude Toward Education

Appalachia's anti-book-learning tradition is based on the fear that learning will separate children from their families and from their communities. The cohesive sense of community and family is strong and greatly prized. Public education came late, has been overly inbred, and has reflected narrow local interests and views. Provincialism has been perpetuated by region-taught teachers.

Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) Priorities

The Appalachian state governors met May 8, 1961; a regional commission was formed on April 9, 1963; ARC was signed into law March 9, 1965, as a new type of state-federal agency. ARC's priorities are: (1) to build main highway corridors through and access roads within

Appalachia so as to put the region into the national transportation system and to improve roads for local people to get to jobs, schools, and hospitals; (2) to identify and strengthen established centers which show a potential for greater growth; and (3) to provide a balance of improved education, health, and other services for rural areas. ARC has also identified the prime needs of 4 subregions: Southern (agriculture) and Northern (coal and steel), needing high school and post high school vocational education for skilled labor to aid the current transition to manufacturing and services; Highlands (sparse settlements; scenic beauty), needing recreational development for tourists; and Central (small towns, out-migration), needing growth centers, transportation, education, and health centers. ARC's educational priorities are to establish development and planning centers for improved early childhood education, school career exploration programs, and job training in vocational high schools.

Other Agencies

Among other agencies working in Appalachia are the Office of Economic Opportunity's Project Headstart, VISTA, and the Job Corps; Berea College, Ky. (since 1855), and other work-study schools and colleges for bright but poor mountain youth; Council of the Southern Mountains (since 1913); and other private social agencies and denominational groups.

Evaluation

Critics fault ARC's highway priority as ultimately benefiting already successful residents and outsiders. Education and health services, given a low priority, would provide more immediate help for the needy. Critics also cite disunity, duplication, and delay among various agencies. Writes a critic: "They are spending millions in the same hollows and small towns of Appalachia. Yet they barely speak to each other." A respected Appalachian sociologist, Perley F. Ayer, said before his recent death: Help hasn't really come to the hollows because "America doesn't have its heart in it."

Zambia and Appalachia: Some Speculations

1. Although Appalachia and Zambia, because of history and geography, are at strikingly different stages of development, both want economic growth and both view education as an investment in manpower for economic growth.

2. Both are concerned with raising the schools' holding power (i.e. reducing dropouts). Zambia, being at a lower level of development, is also concerned with additional physical facilities that will provide more school places.

3. Hostility toward education as potentially divisive to family and community cohesiveness still lingers and handicaps the Appalachian people. Being more deprived, Zambians are seemingly more eager for education for cultural reasons and for the practical benefits to be derived from it.

4. The Zambian drive for educational advancement and economic development is high, is government directed, and is nationally focused. In Appalachia this drive may be less keen, is spread among many seemingly competing agencies, and hence is often more wasteful.

5. Zambia and parts of Appalachia have suffered in the past from boom and bust cycles attending a one-resource economy (Appalachia, coal; Zambia, copper) and need curriculum emphases which aid economic diversity. Appalachia needs vocational skills for industry and general education for service fields. Zambia needs an agricultural bias at the elementary and secondary levels to balance the academic emphasis of various school-level examinations.

6. Appalachia has no external "enemies" as such -- other than exploiting companies. Black-ruled Zambia has a "hostile" white-ruled neighbor, Rhodesia, and this fact causes a drain of resources and energies in defense preparations.

7. Nationalism currently acts as a powerful motivating force for citizen cooperation and sacrifice in Zambia. Appalachia lacks such a motivating force.

8. Despite its own small financial base for education, Zambia is showing a remarkable capacity, when compared with Appalachia, in introducing newer educational technologies (audio-visual aids, educational television, teaching machines, computers, etc.) to speed up and enrich learning. Indeed, Zambia's thrust in this direction conceivably could be greater, depending on borrowed capital from UNESCO, the World Bank, Britain and other sources.

9. Potential regional cooperation, long talked about among East African countries, could enhance Zambia's educational and development advances, should it become part of such a regional grouping. Appalachia does not have this type of potential; but with interstate

planning as part of a rich nation, Appalachia should be able to tap greater sources of assistance.

10. The traditionally inferior role of women in Zambia society is changing and as this process is speeded up, educated women in greater numbers may bolster the teaching force. This factor is less operable in Appalachia, where poorly trained, inbred women teachers have contributed to the high dropout rate. Lower salaries and poor conditions have encouraged out-migration, including that of talented teachers.

Conclusion

It is appropriate in 1970, which is International Education Year, that Zambia, representing the developing nations, and Appalachia, representing deprived areas in advanced countries, assess their educational needs. These are decades of development, so designated by the United Nations for the world-wide advance of man. As we approach the end of this century the dream and the drive is to achieve for all a better life, more liberty, and greater happiness. What the advanced countries have achieved, developing countries relentlessly pursue. Difficulties are many but aspirations are high. Pitfalls are numerous but the effort is large. Burdens are heavy but advances are made. What a people want in their hearts, they can work for with their hands. A nation's reach should o'er leap its grasp. Or else, what's a heaven for? If you give a man a fish, he will have a single meal. If you teach him how to fish, he will eat all of his life.

REFERENCES

1. Adapted from Basil A. Fletcher, "The Planning of Education", University of Leeds, Institute of Education, Research and Studies, No. 25 (April, 1963).

2. Frederick Harbison, Educational Planning and Human Resource Development (Paris: UNESCO, 1967).

3. See representative selection in John W. Hanson and Cole S. Brembeck (eds.), Education and the Development of Nations (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966).

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 117-148, Edward F. Denison, The Sources of Economic Growth in the United States and the Alternatives Before Us, Supplementary Paper No. 13 (New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1962); Edward F. Denison and Jean-Pierre Poullier, Why Growth Rates Differ: Postwar Experience in Nine Western Countries (New York: Brookings Institute, 1967), page 299; Theodore W. Schultz, The Economic Value of Education (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963).

5. Final Report, Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa States on the Development of Education in Africa Addis Ababa, 15-25 May, 1961 (Paris: UNESCO, 1962).

6. Franklin Parker, "Zambia: Education and National Development", Chapter 11, pages 282-350, in Strategies for Curriculum Change: Cases from 13 Nations, edited by R. Murray Thomas, Lester B. Sands, and Dale L. Brubaker (Scranton, Penna.: International Textbook Company, 1968).

7. Annual Report 1969 (Washington, D.C.; Appalachian Regional Commission, 1969).

EDUCATION, RURAL TRANSFORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID IN MIDDLE AFRICA

Ernest Stabler
Althouse College, University of Western Ontario

The idea of adapting education in Middle Africa to life on the land is hardly new. The Phelps Stokes Report[1] of 1924 developed a philosophy of "adaptation" and argued that education "must be of a character to draw out the powers of the Native African and fit him to meet the specific problems and needs of his individual and community life." The British Colonial Office took up the adaptation theme in policy if not in fact and linked education to the development of agriculture, the improvement of health, and the rise of local industries.[2] But the rural-practical bias recommended in 1925 gave way in the next twenty years to the literary-humanistic-religious emphasis of British schools and when, for example, the Beecher Committee made its inquiry into the scope and content of African education in Kenya in 1949, it found an almost complete disappearance of technical emphasis and practical training in primary schools.[3]

The reasons are not hard to find. As African boys began attending secondary schools under mission auspices to train for positions in government departments and commercial houses they were given the kind of education the European community held as a model: the British Public School. And the best way of selecting boys for entry to these schools was a competitive examination based on a literary curriculum in the primary schools. Africans accepted a European system of schooling because they saw it as their salvation and deliverance from poverty and "inferiority". A clerkship at, say, £50 a year was infinitely better both in income and prestige than the backbreaking work of subsistence farming.

Formal, conventional education on the European model has persisted. Since winning Independence the Development Plans of Middle Africa have given high priority to increasing secondary school and university enrolments as a means of filling middle- and high-level manpower quotas. And heavy public demand for universal primary and expanded secondary education has not abated. Against these pressures, however, some severe constraints are developing.

When half the total population is of school age the burden of education costs is crushing; and when those resources (6 per cent of GNP in some countries) are being stretched to the limit without making significant headway against increasing population there appears to be little hope of providing a conventional education for the majority of the population. At the same time, African leaders are critical of the elitist quality of the present school system. Only three out of every thousand students who start in primary schools ever get to a university; but for those who do, the average cost of their education per student each year is about $3.000. All too often the small minority who benefit from secondary and higher education are alienated from the rural backgrounds from which they came. President Nyerere's widely circulated parable is to the point:

> Those who receive this privilege [an extended education], therefore, have a duty to repay the sacrifice others have made. They are like the man who has been given all the food available in a starving village in order that he might have strength to bring supplies back from a distant place. If he takes the food and does not bring help to his brothers, he is a traitor. Similarly, if any of the young men and women who are given an education by the people of the Republic adopt attitudes of superiority, or fail to use their knowledge to help the development of the country, then they are betraying our Union.[4]

The school leaver problem is deepening into a crisis as manpower reservoirs fill up and both primary and secondary school leavers are unable to find jobs. The localization of the Civil Service has been completed in most countries and the output of the secondary schools has outpaced the growth of wage employment in the private sector. In July, 1968, over 1,000 School Certificate holders were registered as unemployed in Kenya's Ministry of Labour.

Unemployment seems to be shaping up as the major problem of the Second Development Decade. In developing countries the rate of unemployment and underemployment in the wage-earning sector now averages about 25 per cent of the labour force and may even be rising. There is an increasing concentration of poverty in cities whose populations continue to swell, and two cultures are developing: those who are employed and those who are not. The prospect for increasing wage employment is anything but bright: only one-fifth of Kenya's labour force can expect to find jobs in urban areas by 1985 and less than 30 per cent by the turn of the century.[5]

Much of the present unemployment is, of course, a result of the spread of education. Conventional education has stimulated rural-to-urban migration by raising the aspirations of young people and intensifying their discontent with traditional agriculture. Furthermore, unemployment is a result of modernization. Employers find ways of using labour-saving means of production, and textile output, for example, has been increased with a reduced labour force. Paradoxically then, industrial development and apparent prosperity do not solve the problem of unemployment. On the one hand industry employs relatively few people, and on the other its high wages (very high in comparison with earnings on the land) have a magnetic effect in drawing people to towns that cannot absorb them.

What, then, is the solution? The countries of Middle Africa are agricultural and it now appears that their development depends on bringing an increasing number of small farms into a modern and productive economy. This can be accomplished through a program of land distribution and settlement, an increase in the output of traditional agriculture, the building of irrigation ditches and access roads, and the encouragement of local processing industries. In short, a rural transformation that will also involve building new kinds of schools and health centres in the rural areas and developing the local community into a better place to live. An agrarian revolution is needed because it is essentially in the agricultural sectors of the economy that income and employment can be created. And the most effective way to persuade the school leaver to forget the city and become a farmer is to show him that he can make money and enjoy a reasonable standard of living on the land.

In all probability it will be a small rather than a large farm, and he will cultivate it intensively with his own skill and little mechanization. The historical model is more likely to be Japan than Russia or the United States. If he is to increase the quality and quantity of cash crops he needs a good deal of technical know-how in choosing the mixture of crops to plant and when and where each ought to be planted. He may have to make decisions and adjustments with respect to three food crops, two or more kinds of livestock, and three or more cash crops, to say nothing of price fluctuations, school fees, loan payments and pregnant wives. As Jon Moris has demonstrated, he lives more by his wits than by his hands.[6]

How can education be adapted, African style, to rural development? Possibly by deciding on a change in emphasis away from formal, institutional schooling for a few towards informal, low-cost, mass education for the many, and a change in priorities from academic secondary and higher education towards instruction than can have immediate, practical application for primary school leavers and adults. The problems and difficulties involved in harnessing education to an agricultural revolution are considerable. Numbers are huge and, therefore, what is done must be cheap, a whole network of local leaders and teachers are needed - extension staff, community development experts, functional literacy teachers, good farmers and cooperative officials - and the most effective settings and patterns have to be found, whether farmer's training centres, agricultural extension services, demonstration plots, literacy programs, or combinations of these. And pilot projects should attempt to find out whether the Village Polytechnics of Kenya, the Ujamaa Villages of Tanzania and the Training Companies of Sengal and Madagascar can be transplanted or adapted elsewhere.

One other phase of education is significant. There is a growing belief in Middle Africa that the primary school curriculum should develop more of a rural emphasis.[7] This does not mean teaching manual skills or offering vocational training, or even teaching agriculture as a separate subject, but it could mean giving a foundation of general knowledge sufficient to let the primary school leaver take advantage of extension advice and further training. The primary school can also teach the child to read, write and calculate by using examples from rural life with vocabulary and concepts derived from agriculture. The objective surely is to help the young take root in their village environment and develop a commitment to farm improvement and rural development.

The impetus to "ruralize" primary education will not come from untrained and unaided teachers. Important innovations in primary schools seldom come from a headmaster and his staff, but rather "from above" through Curriculum Development Centres, Institutes of Education and Training Colleges. Until agriculture is given an emphasis in teacher training along with equipment, curriculum guides, texts, and a place in primary leaving examinations it will not take root in primary schools.

And finally, what if any is the role of development assistance? There is clearly a need for support in launching pilot projects to test new and imaginative ideas. A case in part is the Village Polytechnic that was proposed in 1966 by a group of church leaders in Kenya.[8] In a two-year course one hundred young men and women would learn the down-to-earth, practical techniques of letter writing, bookkeeping, banking and organizing cooperatives, as well as the technical knowledge of modern farming. With very modest premises and a staff of six, annual costs could be as low as £1500-£2000 a year, with support coming from central and local government grants and student fees. Foreign aid funds could be productively used in training artisan and agriculture instructors.

The linking of education with rural transformation calls for new and different kinds of leaders and teachers who, for reasons of communication and credibility, should be local people.

The developed countries may be asked to assist in their training and if this is the case there will be a need for a new breed of technical assistance people who have had experience in rural adult education and community development, low-cost vocational and craft training, residential farmers' training, university extension services, and teacher education with an emphasis on agriculture. Such people are in short supply because the developed countries have had limited success in linking education to their own problems of development.

This consideration is relevant to any discussion of international development assistance. We in Canada, for example, are in the midst of our own development and certainly one of the most difficult problems we face relates to the native people of Canada. Unless we reveal a genuine commitment to listen to Indian and Eskimo demands, and allow for the development of native leadership and self reliance through massive support in both dollars and technical assistance, Canada's participation in international development is, by normal standards of morality, on shaky ground. We will stand condemned not only by our own native people but by the people of developing countries who are increasingly sensitive on this issue. They prefer to cooperate with donors who come with clean hands. Internal and external development assistance form an integrated whole, and each should feed the other as we gain more experience. To the extent possible we should ask Indian leaders for advice on projects abroad, and representatives from the developing countries to assist in Canadian problems. This is not meant simply to encourage white Canadians to undertake an exercise in humility, but because there is an intrinsic similarity in the nature of the problems, although the settings may be very different. The "ruralization" of primary schools in a Tanzania village and on a Cree reserve are not unrelated, and the gearing of adult literacy campaigns to local occupations, health and child care is a common problem that faces native people both in Canada and abroad. Each can learn from the other - if we can help them to come together. Such consultation and exchange might also help to take the curse off present donor and recipient relationships. In a word, our cooperation abroad can and should be linked to development at home.

What I have suggested in this paper is not new. It is probably the New Orthodoxy in development planning, but it is also the wheel come full circle, for this is Phelps Stokes "adaptation" forty-five years later. But with a difference: the proposals for change are not coming from colonial administrators but from African leaders who believe that a new kind of education may help to quicken the pace of development and improve the quality of life in rural areas.

NOTES

1. Education in East Africa (New York: Phelps Stokes Fund, 1924), p. XVII.

2. Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies, Education Policy in British Tropical Africa (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1925), p. 3.

3. African Education in Kenya, "The Beecher Report" (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1949).

4. Julius Nyerere, quoted in George Skorov, Integration of Educational and Economic Planning in Tanzania (Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, 1966), p. 40.

5. O.D.K. Norbye, "Long Term Employment Prospects and the Need for Large-scale Rural Works Programmes" Education, Employment and Rural Development, ed. James R. Sheffield (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967), p. 265.

6. Jon Moris, "Farmer Training as a Strategy for Rural Development" op. cit., pp. 325-326.

7. See the Report of the Conference on Education and Scientific and Technical Training in Relation to Development in Africa sponsored by UNESCO and OAU (Nairobi: July, 1968) mimeographed.

8. After School, What? Report of a Joint Working Party of the Christian Council of Kenya and the Christian Churches Educational Association (Nairobi: 1966).

THE ROLE AND RATIONALE FOR EDUCATIONAL AID IN EL SALVADOR

Herbert G. Vaughan

El Salvador represents an example of a developing country adjusting its traditional educational system to meet the needs of its modernizing society. The population growth rate of 3.7% and density rate of over 420 persons per square mile are among the highest in the hemisphere. The agricultural economy, which is based mainly on one cash crop economy, coffee, should be further diversified. Foreign investments and participation in the Central American Common Market have increased industrial production but economic integration is a distant goal.

Various forces have produced an educational crisis. The population explosion and rising vocational aspirations have increased the number of students. School construction has not kept pace with increasing enrollments. Instructional materials for both teachers and students have been missing in many schools. Graduates have not been trained to meet the country's vocational needs. Educational aid is necessary to assist El Salvador as it reforms its educational system. This paper will discuss the role and rationale of educational aid as it relates to the country's five year educational reform.

Educational Background

Prior to the five year educational reform, which began in 1968, the following conditions were found in El Salvador's centralized system of education: inadequate physical facilities, outmoded curricula, lack of instructional materials, poorly trained teachers and a rigid system of evaluation and pupil progress. These conditions have helped to produce a high drop out rate. The 1969 school enrollments showed the following totals: Primary, 517,000; Secondary, 85,000; and, University, 7,500.

The primary program reflected the above in various ways. Only 30% of the primary schools offered six grades. Curriculum provided instruction in numerous isolated subjects. It did not reflect basic principles of child growth and development. Teaching was essentially by lecture method where filling in copy books and verbatim recall were expected to produce learning. Textbooks and related instructional materials were seldom used either by teacher or student. The testing and evaluation programs were not based on realistic means and rigid procedures discouraged meaningful learning.

Secondary education encompassed five years divided into two cycles: Plan Básico, grades 7-9; and Bachillerato, grades 10-11. The objectives were designed to encourage a general education, to train for the vocations, and most important, to prepare for entrance into the university.

In 1967 secondary education received only 7% of the total Ministry's budget. Many teachers possessed only a Bachillerato education and were not certified, as stipulated by Ministry's regulations, especially at the Plan Básico level. Much teaching was done on a "class-hour" basis where teachers offered a subject at various schools in the same day and very little learning, if any, took place. The curriculum reflected the notion that its primary function was to provide a path to white collar careers; that vocational pursuits were not its common concern. Sciences were taught verbally with little laboratory experience. Mathematics represented the most commonly failed subject, and social studies, composed of history, geography and civics, did not reflect any of the other social sciences. Problems persisted relating to the movement of students from one level to the next. Each level was administered by a separate director within the Ministry, with a disparity of regulations, a poor system of communications, confusing entrance requirements and differing costs and fees. All of these stood in the way of efficient organization.

Because supervisors were poorly trained, supervision developed as inspectoral, investigative, censuring agency rather than a constructive, supportive service to improve the quality of instruction. It was primarily concerned with maintaining teacher's timetables, complying with regulations and directives, investigating charges against the schools and rating the teachers.

Over 30% of the Bachillerato Students sought university careers, 40% were trained for primary school teaching and 12% prepared for business or accounting careers. These vocations built a surplus while other vocational needs were not being met. Vocational programs were inadequate to the economic needs of El Salvador.

Educational Reform and Educational Aid

Because the educational system could not produce students who could live and work in a modern society, reform was necessary. The Ministry, assisted by a National Planning Council, and UNESCO, devised a Five Year Reform in 1967. While the long range objectives represented a complete reform of the entire system, certain priorities were selected: An increased primary school retention rate; increased enrollment in Plan Básico; an improved Bachillerato by diversifying the program, lengthening the school year and adding new facilities; a revised curriculum grades-one through twelve; an improved in service teacher training structure; a broadened and strengthened school supervision system; a reform of teaching methodologies in the classroom and a reorganized administration at the Ministry.

Educational aid has been provided prior to the Reform by both multi and bi-lateral agreements. USAID financed the construction of a centralized normal school, supported a regional textbook center, extended primary school construction and continued participant training programs. UNESCO provided grants for laboratory centers, offered periodic in-service training courses, and acted in an advisory capacity to the Ministry.

Now multi and bi-lateral educational aid, in the form of grants and loans, has been planned as an integral part of the Reform. The estimated one time costs are over $25 million, with El Salvador contributing 37% and multi and bi-lateral sources providing the remainder. Other examples of bi-lateral aid come from various countries such as Great Britain and Japan. Recently, the World Bank signed a $4 million loan with the Ministry to build 18 comprehensive high schools (Bachillerato).

The Ministry has selected the Plan Basico as its number one priority because in its present level of development it cannot handle anticipated enrollments nor offer quality education. In 1964, 5,500 students attended Plan Basico public schools, figure which has more or less remained unchanged through 1968, yet potential enrollments increase more than 3,000 a year and no schools were added. While the private schools absorb some of the overflow, most students simply cannot afford private education. Since the Escuela Normal Superior produced only fifty teachers annually, most Plan Básico teachers in both public and private schools are underqualified primary school teachers with little or no secondary preparation.

During the 1967 Punta del Este Conference President Johnson of the United States spoke of the importance of educational technology and the extension of education as a condition for economic and social development. President Sanchez of El Salvador responded that possibly his country could initiate instructional television and serve as a pilot country for Central America. Negotiations followed with the Ministry, the National Planning Council, UNESCO and USAID and the Organization of Central American States (ODECA). The Minister took the position that instructional television could best meet the priorities of the Reform, improving quality in a shorter time, and at less cost than traditional means, and asked USAID to provide the necessary technical assistance in production, curriculum, teacher training and equipment.

The projected 100% increase of Plan Básico enrollments by 1972 indicated that educational planning was needed to increase opportunities for entrance into Plan Basico and to improve its quality. The planners felt that instructional television offered a feasible method of achieving these goals. Its advantages were held to be: specialized training in the subject matter areas which cannot be done by the Plan Básico teacher; demonstration of equipment not readily available to the classroom teacher; the utilization of instructional broadcasts by teachers who are not subject matter specialists; improvement of teaching methods with emphasis upon conceptual thinking and self discovery; and an accelerated introduction of the revised curriculum.

As teachers were products of the traditional system, they could not be expected to understand and teach the new curriculum and methods without in-service training. Thus, over a three year period, 1400 Plan Basico teachers will receive one year of training in the new curriculum and teaching methodology, including instruction in the utilization of television.

To develop instructional televison, a Division of Educational Television was organized within the Ministry. This Division reports directly to the Minister and is equal to other divisions of the Ministry. USAID personnel do not have decision making authority within the Ministry. They act in an advisory capacity, recommending, suggesting and advising their counterparts.

The Nature of USAID Educational Aid

USAID/El Salvador for this particular project employs its technicians on a personal service basis. The project operates under the direction of the USAID education advisor to the Ministry of Education, El Salvador. Fifteen Spanish speaking technicians plus several short term consultants, totaling 72 man years over the five year period were contracted. The project was financed by a grant for the first two years and a loan is proposed to cover the last three.

In 1968 USAID personnel began to give technical assistance in television production, curriculum development and teacher training. Each technician acted as an advisor and worked with a Salvadorean counterpart.

U.S. specialists, working in the Division of Curriculum, assisted in the development of the Plan Básico curriculum, as it had been given priority by the Minister. Later, a primary curriculum was written, and is now in use on an experimental basis in selected schools. The revised curriculum program includes objectives, content, activities and suggested methodologies and evaluation. The previous curriculum contained many isolated subjects and offered only a brief content outline.

After the curriculum was developed USAID advisors helped in the implementation process by organizing the curriculum into daily lessons with television scripts, teacher's guides and workbook lessons. This was done with separate counterparts from the Educational Television Division. Advisors in production, film and graphic arts were also involved in the process.

A teacher training program was organized and developed with the help of a USAID advisor at the national Normal School. Importance was placed on books and their use for both teachers and students. The new curriculum, instructional methodologies and the utilization of television were stressed. A library has been established, a demonstration school developed, and an instructional materials center is in the process of being organized.

A system of supervision has been organized within the Division of Secondary Education and supervisors have received training at the Normal School. They work with classroom teachers in the field and provide feedback into the system.

Finally, with USAID assistance, research and evaluation have been planned, incorporated and financed as integral parts of the project.

Conclusions

Educational aid is essential in El Salvador as a means of developing needed human resources. Factors such as the population expansion of 3.7% and an illiteracy rate of 60% influenced the country's leaders to recognize the need for educational reform. Without educational aid it is doubtful that the system could have been modernized. While it is recognized that aid can only initiate the desired structural and attitudinal changes, development will occur only if the Salvadoreans accept the responsibility for continuing with the task.

There exists in El Salvador several factors which assisted in the initial success of the Reform: A functioning educational system, a significant degree of political and social stability and a climate for change. During the past two years instructional television was introduced. Teachers and students in Plan Básico have and use instructional materials where few existed before. A revised curriculum has been written and is in use in the Plan Basico schools. A system of supervision as a constructive, supportive service to improve the quality of instruction has been organized. Plan Básico teachers have or will receive a one year period of in-service training, in addition to their regular salaries. The Ministry of Education now receives 29.4% of the total National budget; the Ministry's budget increased 42% and the Division of Secondary Education receives 196% over 1967 levels. This clearly indicates that a significant beginning has been made to reach the Reform goals.

El Salvador had a commitment to change, it had a program, it needed help in carrying out the program. So, foreign assistance was requested. USAID's position was to work only within a broad framework of educational reform, not just educational technology.

In summary, this approach worked for El Salvador. It may not work for other countries. There are, however, I believe, basic questions that should be asked before educational aid is considered.

1. What are the advantages and disadvantages of multilateral versus bi-lateral educational aid?

2. How can educational technology be instrumental in initiating educational change for developing countries?

3. How should educational aid be related to the country's ability to undertake long range plans for educational development?

4. What attitudes should foreign educational advisors bring with them in order to best function in developing societies?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

__________. Research and Evaluation Reports on the El Salvador Educational Reform and Television Project. Numbers 1-11, Institute for Communication Research, Palo Alto: Stanford University, on behalf of the Academy for Educational Development, under contract with the U.S. Agency for International Development, 1968 to present.

__________. "El Sistema Educativo: Fundamentos Doctrinarios, Estructura, Planes y Programas", Documentos de la Reforma Educativa, Número 3, San Salvador, El Salvador: Ministerio de Educación, 1970.

__________. "Diagnóstico Estadístico y Proyecciones de la Educación Primaria en El Salvador", Documentos de la Reforma Educativa, Número 1, San Salvador, El Salvador: Ministerio de Educación, 1970.

__________. El Salvador: Education Reform and Program Including ITV. Capital Assistance Paper, Agency for International Development. Washington: Development of State, June 19, 1968.

__________. Qué es la Reforma Educativa?: Sus Fines y sus Programas. San Salvador, El Salvador: Ministerio de Educación, 1969.

THE ROLE AND RATIONALE FOR EDUCATIONAL AID TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL NEEDS

Yoo, Hyung Jin, Ed.D., President,
Korea Comparative Education Society

Foreword

It is my privilege to have been asked to present a paper on "The Role and Rationale for Educational Aid to Developing Countries with Special Reference to Technical and Professional Needs". Because of the limited access to relevant data and information, my observation is confined to Korea Education of the last two decades.

Since the close relationship was established with the United States of America first in 1945, when Korea was liberated from Japanese Rule, and secondly, with the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, the nation has proved to be one of the model cases, where the U.S. aid program worked most successfully. Especially, the United States Educational Aid to Korea helped substantially to the development of Korea toward self-sustaining nation with notable advance both in quantity and quality of manpower.

From the outset, the United States, both government and private organizations, set up generous program to rehabilitate schools in the country and to train personnel both in Korea and in the U.S.A. Korean people are most grateful to the people of the U.S.A. for, among others, spending a great deal of money and resources to best assist Koreans to achieve their objectives in the process of modernization in the educational field. No doubt, mutual understanding and friendship between Koreans and Americans were deepened and broadened through the effective program of educational exchange along with military and economic cooperation.

It is not easy to present here the exact statistics in terms of educational aid to Korea due to complexities of aiding organizations on American side. There have existed more than a dozen private funds including the American-Korean Foundation and the Asia Foundation each spending over a million dollars for educational purposes in the last fifteen years. According to the USOM Report, the U.S. Government's educational aid program can be summarized as follows:

USOM ASSISTANCE TO EDUCATION IN KOREA

1954 - 1968

1. HIGHER EDUCATION - Seoul National University/University of Minnesota Contract 1954-1962
   Objectives of the project were to rebuild and rehabilitate war-damaged buildings, to improve the quality of teaching, research and service to the nation and to enable professors to receive advanced training in the United States.

   Following are the major accomplishments:

   1. Assisted with the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the facilities of the Colleges of Medicine, Engineering, Agriculture and the School of Public Administration of Seoul National University.
   2. Exchange of Faculty.
      230 participants from Seoul National University were sent to the U.S. for from six months to four years training, while 56 Minnesota staff members served in Korea.

   U.S. Financial Assistance:
   $8,055,300 plus ₩381,933,400 (Counterpart Fund)
   ($1,414,500 at an exchange rate of 270 won)

2. TEACHER TRAINING PROGRAM - The George Peabody College for Teachers Contract 1956-1962
   The purpose of this project was to improve teacher education and provide facilities and equipment in teacher training institutions.

   Following are the major accomplishments:

   1. Reorganized and upgraded Korea's primary teacher training program from high school to junior teachers college level. (Original 18 institutions reorganized into 14 teachers colleges.)
   2. Revised curriculum and teaching methods.
   3. Built science and mathematics classrooms and laboratories and library at College of Education, Seoul National University.

4. Exchange of faculty.
92 Korean educators were sent abroad for training. 39 George Peabody College for Teachers staff members served in Korea.

U.S. Financial Assistance:
$3,801,800 plus ₩248,135,000 (Counterpart Fund)
($919,000 at an exchange rate of 270 won)

3. KOREAN NATIONAL VOCATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAM - 1956-1966
The special emphasis on vocational education began in 1956 with the great need for vocational school shop buildings and equipment brought on by the destruction caused by the Korean War. The need for assistance in vocational education was heightened by the pressure on Korea to accelerate its industrial and technological growth rate as it moved out of a colonial status to take its place among the free nations of the world.

The needs for physical facilities and equipment have been of high priority but there are other even more critical needs such as improvement in vocational teacher training, development of curricula for skill training and building of closer relationships between school and industry. U.S. financial assistance for vocational education totals approximately 3.5 million dollars. This includes the cost of U.S. technicians, shop and laboratory equipment and participant training. In addition, approximately 713,600,000 won ($2,643,000 at an exchange rate of 270 won) have been provided for buildings and equipment from counterpart funds and economic development special account funds.

4. CLASSROOM CONSTRUCTION PROJECT - 1956-1962
The purpose of the project was to develop model plans and working drawings of classrooms and to repair and construct classrooms.

U.S. Financial Assistance:
$2,256,000 plus ₩1,810,927,000 (Counterpart Fund)
($6,700,000 at an exchange rate of 270 won)

5. BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION EDUCATION - Korea University and Yonsei University/Washington University Contract 1958-1964
The purpose of the project was to improve Business Administration Education. The technical assistance was provided to Korea University and Yonsei University.

U.S. Financial Assistance:
$1,234,000 plus ₩4,323,000 (Counterpart Fund)
($16,000 at an exchange rate of 270 won)

6. ENGLISH LANGUAGE TRAINING PROGRAM - English Language Services Contract 1961-1962

7. BOOK PROGRAMS - AID/W-USOM Book Funds, Approximately $100,000

* Plus five minor projects, which are omitted here for lack of space.

GRAND TOTAL: U.S. Funding: $20,005,700 plus ₩3,216,751,820 ($11,906,600)

Beside the U.S. Aid Program, recently there came into being various educational Aid projects undertaken by a number of countries including Great Britain (A technical College - a million dollars), West Germany (Two Vocational High Schools - a million dollars), Australia (A Technical High School - half a million dollars), and France (A Technical College - half a million dollars).

Finally, but not least, the contribution of following two outstanding institutions with international standards should be mentioned: Su-kang University and Korea Institute of Science and Technology.

Su-kang University was founded in 1960 by the Society of Jesus of Wisconsin Province and in the last ten years nearly five million dollars were spent to raise the quality of teaching -- having been known as a model of higher learning institutions in Korea. West Germany also contributed half a million dollars in order to build laboratories at the University.

KIST was established in 1966 by the Korean Government with the cooperation of President Johnson. Its aim is to develop science and technology to give full support to the fast growing economy of the country. It has established sisterly relations with Battelle Memorial Institute of the U.S.A. in order to improve training and research activity and to enhance exchange in scientific and technological fields. (U.S. Funding: $8,000,000)

Evaluation

So far, I have described in brief the various educational aid programs that have taken place in Korea in the last twenty years. Turning to evaluate the aid programs, following points can be raised for examination. These points were unanimously indicated by the responsible people in the aid-recipient institutions in Korea. For lack of space, more negative sides are discussed here than the positive aspects of aid programs. And these weaknesses are mainly found in the USOM projects. Due to recency of projects, accomplishments of other countries remain to be evaluated.

Although there is no doubt as to the great contribution of the aid projects in raising the quality and expanding the quantity of technical and professional education in Korea, projects could be more useful and effective if the following points had been kept in mind.

(1) More Korean teachers could be sent abroad for training if the number of American staff members sent to Korea were kept in the minimum. e.g. 92 Koreans compared with 39 Americans under George Peabody College Contract (1956-1962).

(2) Waste of money seen in the case of building a mammoth auditorium at the College of Agriculture, Seoul National University, under University of Minnesota Contract (1954-1962).

(3) One-sided emphasis upon new and progressive teaching methods based upon John Dewey's activity program, characteristic of Teacher Training Program of George Peabody College Contract. In this connection, we would like to emphatically quote professor Robert Ulich's statement:

> "One cannot simply transfer the structure and program of schools from one people to another according to preconceived opinions gained from the standards and experiences at home. For only in a remote way can the means and goals of education be derived from an abstract concept of man; they must harmonize with the lives and ideas of men in particular circumstances. The planners and organizers of school systems, whether they work at home or as consultants to foreign governments, will have to take into account the religious beliefs, customs and traditions of a specific people. And, however much they may be convinced of the existence of overarching and transcultural values in the life of humanity, they will have to gear the programs of teaching to the work of the men and women in their communities, as well as to their individual talents."

Robert Ulich, "The Education of Nations", Harvard University Press, 1962, p. 306.

(4) Reluctant attitude on the part of American staff members to provide Korean institutions with up-to-date facilities and equipments partly because a number of institutions in the U.S.A. did not own those up-to-date ones.

(5) A number of equipments are provided from War Surplus items so that there are no means of replacing parts when worn out in the equipments of technical institutions.

(6) Long-term, continued assistance could be planned for certain chosen institutions rather than short-term assistance for larger number of institutions. While it is highly important to operate the facilities and equipments in technical institutions without pause, a great number of those expensive things soon stopped to move due to lack of qualified personnel and maintenance fees. In other words, funds must have been put aside for a continued assistance and maintenance purpose.

(7) By and large, the U.S. Aid program in education neglected the importance of general education totally concentrating on technical and professional aspects. Unless supported by human elements, the scientist, or the professional man, no matter how capable in his own field, cannot fulfil an effective service to his society.

Prospects

Korea has been successful in bringing about economic growth in the last decade (at an average growth rate of 8.3%) partly because of effective leadership of the government. But the major force behind the marked economic development has sprung from the potential high-level manpower prepared by improving educational systems during the past two decades. As already mentioned in detail, in the course of elevating the schools and colleges of Korea, thereby, fulfilling the technical and professional needs, the role played by foreign aid, especially the U.S. aid, made a decisive contribution. Rapid increase in the amount of export alone explains the marked growth in the country's economy. Comparing to only 20 million dollars in 1960, we are now optimistic about exporting one billion dollar goods in 1970. And the nation has an ambitious long-term economic development plan whereby we can expect a per capita income of 400 dollars by the close of 1970's (double the present 200 dollars), the nation's export target being five billion dollars.

It goes without saying that in realizing the fantastic national plan, the foremost priority should be placed on producing and developing advanced manpower. To attain this objective, the government is currently drawing "The Long-term Comprehensive Educational Plan" (1972-1986).

Despite the nation's struggle for better technical and professional education, current high-level manpower situation is quite inadequate as shown in the following figures.

Number of Research Personnel

	U.S.A. (1963)	England (1965)	France (1963)	Germany (1964)	Japan (1963)	Korea (1967)
Number of Research Personnel	474,900	59,445	32,539	33,382	114,839	4,061
Ratio to Population of 10,000	25	11	7	6	12	3

Structure of Manpower (1967)

Manpower in Science and Technology	Number	Percentage
Scientists	2,400	3.2
Engineers	11,600	15.7
Technicians	56,400	76.0
Professors (Science)	3,800	5.1
Total:	74,200	100.0

c.f. U.S.A.s (1960)

Scientists and Professors (Science)	27.7%
Engineers	35.4%
Technicians	36.9%

Anyhow, Korea's long-term manpower development plan foresees the rapid expansion of personnel to meet the fast economic growth of the nation. By 1986, the number of scientists and engineers have to be increased by eleven times (from present 13,900 to 160,000), professors in science and technology by threefold (from present 3,000 to 10,000), technicians by over five times (from present 56,400 to 300,000), and craftsmen over seven times (from present 275,500 to 2,000,000).

The need for increased number of advanced manpower is well reflected in the tentative long-term educational plan which demands that the number of students in the higher education institutions become threefold in fifteen years (from present 140,000 to nearly 500,000 in 1986) and the number of college teachers almost five times (from present 6,000 to 30,000 in 1986).

The too rapid an expansion in terms of quantity observed in the above figures naturally results in degradation of quality of education both in technical and higher educational institutes. What, we should guard against, then, is not to lower the standard and quality of instruction in this most strategic enterprise of the nation.

THE IMPACT OF LONG-TERM EDUCATIONAL ADVISORY EXPERTS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW NATIONS

Mathew Zachariah
The University of Calgary
Calgary 44, Alberta

Technical assistance was a big item of expenditure in the aid budget of western nations between the years 1949 and 1956. After that it fell into disfavour as western nations placed more emphasis on financial assistance as a means of increasing available capital in new nations. However, as aid budgets have begun to shrink, the relative importance of technical assistance in those budgets has been increasing in the last three to five years.

It is in view of this development that I undertook to make a study of the extent to which experts have made, either individually or as a group, a contribution to the development of new nations. I was also interested in the differences in recruitment, training, and on-the-job preformance of experts who were part of bilateral assistance programmes on the one hand and multilateral assistance programmes on the other. This paper presents only a part of my findings.

Technical assistance is one of the means which developed nations put at the disposal of developing nations to enable the latter to get closer to the standards and ways of life of the former. Technical assistance attempts to help fill gaps between the skill requirements implicit in development plans and the domestic stock of skills. It also aims to strengthen and supplement a country's capacity to produce new skills via its educational system. In the process of doing this, technical assistance may help to inculcate "development mindedness", push latent entrepreneurship in the right direction, help discover natural resources and help discern and promote growing points in the developing economy thereby accelerating the development of these countries. Three distinct but interrelated aspects of economic growth are expected to benefit from such assistance; techniques of planning,operation and production; institutional framework and organizational structure; cultural values and attitudes.

If money and goods are the means by which financial assistance is provided, people are the means by which almost all technical assistance is given. They may be administrators of donor or recipient organizations, experts of all types, and, scholars who go to developed countries for further study. In this paper, we will only deal with "experts". Experts may be classified according to the agency of sponsorship (nation-state, international agency, private organizations), the time of their service (long-term or short-term), the geographic unit (country or region which covers many countries such as South Asia), and function (advisor, teacher and trainer, operational worker), and level (high level expert, middle level expert, etc.). My concern here is with long-term high-level advisers who go from one country to another under official bilateral or multilateral agreements. Some of my observations may be applicable to other kinds of experts as well.

The expert is expected to render advice on the basis of his professional competence concerning the technical aspects of problems which he sees or are brought to his attention. Legally he is forbidden to participate in the political and decision-making processes of recipient governments although most experts cannot help do this some of the time either by the inherent nature of their work or because of specific invitation by the host government. The hortatory literature addressed to the expert, however, is full of cautions and warnings on this point.

There is also in the literature considerable discussions about the qualities of the ideal expert, problems of recruiting and training experts, the difficulties experts and recipient countries face in developing satisfactory relationships, the personal frustrations experts have to cope with and the difficulties of evaluating the impact of any expert or group of experts on the development of a new nation and suggestions on how to deal with at least some of these problems. Space constraints compel me not to deal with them here and to state briefly the following propositions.

1. Even after granting the difficulties of evaluating the contribution of experts, the evidence available in the literature and which I collected in interviews in Paris and London recently indicate that the expert makes very little or no contribution to the development of new nations. As Ladislav Cerych puts it, the complaint of many persons in developing countries is "We may be under-developed, but we are certainly 'over-expertised'."

2. There is growing dissatisfaction with attempts to explain the relative ineffectiveness of "experting" in terms of shortcomings of individuals whether they are experts or their counterparts.

3. Similarly, while granting in specific terms the relevance of some problems such as the unavailability of suitable candidates and the tendency of most experts who are recruited from the universities to be abstract instead of concrete in providing advice, theoretical and practical considerations cast doubt on the general validity of some of these "problems". Two examples must suffice now. What good is it to complain about the lack of adequate secretarial assistance in developing countries when this inadequacy is itself a result of the under-development which the expert has come to help alleviate? Or the description of the ideally suitable persons in some of the official and non-official documents convinces me that such mortals, if they do exist, are not only suitable for experting but also for canonization. Even if there are candidates for sainthood among experts, it is doubtful whether they will make contributions of the quality, magnitude or scale required to bring about accelerated development.

4. A significant minority among scholars and policymakers are calling our attention to the constraints within, which experting is done and asking whether or not, or asserting that, these constraints are the most significant causes of the ineffectiveness of experts. In this connection, may I call your attention to G.C. Ruscoe. The Conditions for Success in Educational Planning (Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, 1969) although I consider some aspects of his analysis inadequate.

5. One of the most important constraints is that experts are not entrepreneurs. They are component parts of complex hierarchical structured organizations. Organizations, whatever the purpose for which they were brought into being, develop, over time, rules and regulations for their own survival which may take precedence over goals such as promoting development.

6. Official technical assistance is a special form of relationship between governments -- which, it is commonly acknowledged -- leads to compliments being freely (indeed sometimes comically) exchanged and criticisms watered down. International agencies and government must be very careful not to offend each other. No official technical assistance programme has succeeded where the governmental agencies have been offended by implicit or explicit criticism. This is another constraint.

7. The extent of the success of expert advising -- indeed technical assistance programmes -- depends on the development of that field of knowledge in the developed nation. For example, the techniques of controlling certain diseases were highly developed in the west. Therefore, it was possible to transfer these to developing countries with great success. It is not possible for the developed nations to claim with any certainty that their techniques of economic or educational planning, forecasting, etc. are comparably advanced. Indeed, the theory of economic and social development is rich in speculation and poor in firm knowledge of how development takes place. Thus the expert adviser cannot claim to be any more knowledgeable on this subject than the people he is advising.

8. Specifically, the two conceptual anchors of social change theory on which technical assistance rests are diffusion and acculturation. The diffusion is seen to spread from the metropoli of developed nations to the national capitals of the underdeveloped ones and from there to the provincial capitals and eventually the hinterland. As a result of the diffusion of knowledge, skills, organization, values and technology, the developing nations, in time, become variants of that which made the developed nations successful. I do not have the space here to go over all the criticisms which can be made of this approach to social change which encompasses sociological and psychological frames of reference. However, I do want to make two points.

   (a) The process of economic and social development does not benefit everybody at any given time. In fact, that process usually hits, rather hard, those who are reasonably well-off now and have the money, power, and political influence. The diffusion theory of social change blithely ignores these institutional, political, cultural and economic blocks to diffusion. Some diffusion theorists and strategists have attempted to accommodate these blocks by developing the concept of "absorptive capacity". While the concept has utility in pointing up, and dealing with, problems associated with lack of knowledge, lack of skills and lack of management experience, it can not deal adequately with institution, social and cultural constraints in a society. Expert advice and other forms of foreign aid therefore tend to be blocked by vested interests at certain points of the imaginary diffusion line. That is why foreign aid benefits proportionately and absolutely the better-off groups in developing countries than the majority of poor people.

   (b) It would be extremely naive on my part, now that I have introduced political, economic, and social structural considerations on the recipient nations' part, to ignore the role these considerations play on the part of donor nations.

> That they exist is readily admitted but not much research has been done on how they affect the process of recruitment, selection, and on-the-job performance of experts. I expect to find significant differences on this subject between bilateral and multilateral aid programmes. There is considerable truth, indeed, in the statement that "Foreign aid takes from the poor in rich countries and gives it to the rich in poor countries."

In this paper, my posture has been that of an academic who is interested in policy without being a Manichean; who tries in his research endeavours to seek to understand policy. I did not undertake policy-oriented research in this instance, so I do not have any recommendations to make in this paper. But if I had to make a recommendation, I would be facing the dilemma that the rapporteur of an OECD Conference on Development Plans and Programs wrote about:

> In [some cases,] nothing but a change of government, which in some countries might require a revolution, could pave the way for effective development. It was not felt, however (concluded the Conference rapporteur) that the planning of revolution as such belonged properly to the curriculum of institutes of development planning. . . . . . .

Or, the discussion sections of the First World Congress of Comparative Education Societies.

FIRST WORLD CONGRESS OF COMPARATIVE EDUCATION SOCIETIES
PREMIER CONGRES MONDIAL DES SOCIETES D'EDUCATION COMPAREE
INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION YEAR-ANNEE DE L'EDUCATION INTERNATIONALE

Registration List - Liste des Inscriptions

Adams, A. Elizabeth, U.K.
General Inspector of Education (Ret.)
29 Woodside House,
London, S.W. 19, England.

Altena, Juul V.R., U.S.A.
Associate Professor of Comparative Education (Ret.)
168 Main Street,
New Paltz, N.Y. 12561, U.S.A.

Angus, James Thomas, CAN.
Dean of Education,
Lakehead University,
Postal Station "P",
Thunder Bay, Ontario.

Anweiler, Dr. Oskar, GERMANY
Professor and Director,
The Institute of Education,
Ruhr-Universitat Bochum, Germany.

Bakari, Shehu Usman, NIGERIA
Advisor Post Secondary Education,
Bureau for External Aid for Education,
P.M.B. 12013,
Lagos, Nigeria.

Beauchamp, Sr. Lucie, CAN.
Principal of Integrated Studies,
Paul VI Separate School,
Hawkesbury, Ontario.

Belding, Robert E., U.S.A.
Professor and Chairman,
Social Foundations,
College of Education,
University of Iowa,
Iowa City, Iowa 52240, U.S.A.

Bennett, William S., U.S.A.
Associate Professor, Sociology Department,
Western Michigan University,
Michigan 49001, U.S.A.

Bernstein, George, U.S.A.
Assistant Professor of Education,
Department of Educational Foundations and Comparative Studies,
Montclair State College,
Upper Montclair, N.J. 07043, U.S.A.

Bérubé, Louis A., CAN.
Deputy Director,
Francophone Section,
Education Division,
Canadian International Development Agency,
75 Albert Street,
Ottawa 4, Ontario.

Bilodeau, Charles, CAN.
Ministère de l'éducation,
Service de la coopération avec l'extérieur,
Hôtel du Gouvernement,
Québec, Québec.

Black, Roger D.H., CAN.
Professor and Chairman,
Education Studies Division,
University of Prince Edward Island,
Charlottetown, P.E.I.

Boze, Floyd, U.S.A.
Dean of Admissions,
Texas Tech University,
Lubbock, Texas, U.S.A.

Braham, Mark, CAN.
Assistant Professor,
Sir George Williams University,
Montreal, Quebec.

Brassard, Pierre-Paul, CAN.
Professeur de français,
Precious Blood School,
11 Cultra Square,
West Hill, Ontario

Brickman, William W., U.S.A.
Professor, Graduate School of Education,
University of Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.

Chandola, Anoop C., U.S.A.
Association Professor of Oriental Studies,
University of Arizona,
Tucson, Arizona, U.S.A.

Cirigliano, G.F.J., ARGENTINA
Professor, Universidad de Buenos Aires,
Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Cooppan, S.S., AFRICA
Chief, Education Unit,
Manpower Training Section,
United Nations Economic Commissions for Africa,
P.O. Box 3005,
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Coombs, W.D., CAN.
Director, Educational Research,
C.I.D.A.,
75 Albert Street,
Ottawa 4, Ontario.

Couch, Victor J., AUSTRALIA
Vice-Principal,
Sydney Teachers' College,
University of Sydney,
Sydney, Australia.

Coughlan, Irene E., CAN.
Librarian,
Faculties of Psychology & Education,
University of Ottawa,
1245 Kilborn Avenue,
Ottawa 8, Ontario.

Curtiss, Marie Joy, U.S.A.
Chairman Music Education Programs,
Syracuse University,
Syracuse, N.Y., U.S.A.

Davis, James M., U.S.A.
President, Northwestern Michigan College,
1140 Peninsula Drive,
Traverse City, Mich., 49684, U.S.A.

De Grandpré, Marcel, CAN.
Professeur d'éducation comparée,
Université de Montréal,
Montréal, Québec.

De Luca, Sr. Jean, CAN.
Research Assistant,
University of Ottawa,
Faculty of Education,
1245 Kilborn Avenue,
Ottawa 8, Ontario.

Desjarlais, Lionel, CAN.
Dean, Faculty of Education,
University of Ottawa,
1245 Kilborn Avenue,
Ottawa 8, Ontario.

Diaz, Clifford S., CAN.
Head of Counselling Services,
Dept. of Indian Affairs and
Northern Development,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Dorotich, Daniel, CAN.,
Associate Professor,
Educational Foundations,
University of Saskatchewan,
Saskatoon, Sask.

Drake, Stanley J., U.S.A.
President,
Fort Lauderdale University,
Fort Lauderdale, Fla., U.S.A.

Drewe, F.H., CAN.
Assistant Professor,
Educational Foundations,
University of Manitoba,
Winnipeg, Man.

Eckstein, Max, U.S.A.
Professor,
Queen's College, C.U.N.Y.,
New York, N.Y., U.S.A.

Edwards, Reginald, CAN.
Professor, McGill University,
Montreal, Quebec.

Ellis, Dr. M.E. Dormer, CAN.
Professor,
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education,
102 Bloor Street West,
Toronto 5, Ontario.

Entwistle, Harold, CAN.
Associate Professor,
Sir George Williams University,
Montreal 107, Quebec.

Escartin, Ricardo, CUBA
First Secretary, Cuban Embassy,
200 Rideau Terrace,
Ottawa 2, Ontario.

Ferren, K.J., CAN.
Director of Admission,
University of Ottawa,
550 Cumberland Street,
Ottawa 2, Ontario.

Finley, E. Gault, CAN.
Assistant Director,
Education Support Branch,
Secretary of State, Federal Government,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Foster, Philip J., U.S.A.
Professor of Education and Sociology,
President C.I.E.S. 1970-71,
University of Chicago,
Chicago, Ill,, U.S.A.

Fredericks, Roderick G., CAN.
Second Vice-President,
Canadian Teachers Federation,
7 Kingston Crescent,
Dartmouth, N.S.

Gagné, Jacques, CAN.
Assistant Director,
Center of Comparative Education,
University of Ottawa,
1245 Kilborn Avenue,
Ottawa 8, Ontario.

Garcia, Merlot Abilio, CUBA
Advisor in Higher Education,
Ministry of Education,
Segunda 630, Los Pinos,
Havana 18, Cuba.

Garneau, Mgr. Jacques, CAN.
Directeur adjoint,
Association des universités et collèges
du Canada,
151 rue Slater,
Ottawa 4, Ontario.

Geng, George, U.S.A.
Professor of Psychology,
Chairman, Committee on World Education,
Glassboro State College,
Glassboro, N.J. 08028, U.S.A.

Gleason, Thomas P., CAN.
Associate Professor of Education,
Department of Education & Psychology,
University of Moncton,
Moncton, N.B.

Godbout, Arthur, CAN.
Secretary, Comparative Education Center,
Faculty of Education,
University of Ottawa,
1245 Kilborn Avenue,
Ottawa 8, Ontario.

Goldstein, E. Mark, CAN.
Professor, Teacher Training,
Faculty of Education,
University of Ottawa,
1245 Kilborn Avenue,
Ottawa 8, Ontario.

Gray, George L., CAN.
25 Oakview Avenue,
Toronto 161, Ontario.

Griffin, Willis H., U.S.A.
Professor of Education and Director,
Office of International Programs,
University of Kentucky,
Lexington, Ky., 40502, U.S.A.

Grosser, Angela Ingeborg, GERMANY
Teacher, Freie U. Hansestadt Hamburg,
Abtlg Schulbehörde,
19 Zesenstr.,
Hamburg 39, Germany 2.

Halls, William D., U.K.
Chief, Comparative Education Section,
University of Oxford,
15 Norham Gardens,
Oxford OX2 6PY, England.

Hamilton, William B., CAN.
Associate Professor and Chairman,
Department of History of Education,
University of Western Ontario,
1137 Western Road,
London, Ontario.

Hayes, (Miss) F. Dale, CAN.
Education Researcher,
International Development Research Centre,
Peb Building,
2197 Riverside Drive,
Ottawa 1, Ontario.

Heyman, Richard D., CAN.
Assistant Professor,
The University of Calgary,
Calgary 44, Alberta.

Hogan, Earl W., CAN.
Trustee, Carleton Board of Education,
4 Thorncliffe Place,
Ottawa 6, Ontario.

Holmes, Brian, U.K.
Reader in Comparative Education,
University of London,
Malet Street, W.C.1,
London, England.

Hunt, J. Franklin, U.S.A.
Professor of Education,
Chairman, Hamilton College,
Clinton, N.Y., U.S.A.

Husen, Torsten, SWEDEN
Professor, I.E.A.,
Wenner-Gren Center
Sveavagen 166 (8 TR),
S-113 46 Stockholm, Sweden.

Hutton, H.K., U.S.A.
Professor of Education,
Penn State University,
219 Rackley Building,
University Park, Penn. 16802, U.S.A.

Iwashita, Shintaro, JAPAN
Professor of School Administration,
Tohoku University,
Kawauchi I-4-306,
Sendai, Japan.

Jayasuriya, John E., CEYLON
Professor of Education,
Head of Department of Education,
University of Ceylon,
Peradeniya, Ceylon.

Johnson, Kenneth D., CANADA
Curriculum Program Consultant,
Ontario Department of Education,
1825 Woodward Drive,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Johnson, Wm. H.E., U.S.A.
Professor of Education,
University of Pittsburgh,
Pittsburgh, Penn. 15213, U.S.A.

Jones, Wendell P., U.S.A.
Associate Professor of Education,
University of California,
Los Angeles, Cal. 90024, U.S.A.

Kajubi, W. Senteza, AFRICA
Director, Institute of Education,
Makerere University,
Kampala, Uganda, Africa.

Kallen, Denis, FRANCE
Organisation for Economic Co-operation
and Development,
43 boulevard Pasteur,
Paris 15, France.

Kattackal, Joseph A., CANADA
Research Associate,
Comparative Education Center,
Faculty of Education,
University of Ottawa,
1245 Kilborn Avenue,
Ottawa 8, Ontario.

Katz, Joseph, CANADA
President,
World Council for Comparative Education,
Faculty of Education,
University of British Columbia,
Vancouver 8, B.C.

Kim, Sun Ho, KOREA
Professor of Education,
Kyung Hee University,
Seoul, Korea.

Kimura, Hiroshi, JAPAN
Japanese Society of Comparative Education,
2-402 Official Residence for Teaching Staff
Yokosuka, Matsudo-shi, Chiba-Ken, Japan.

King, Edmund James, ENGLAND
Reader in Comparative Education,
University of London King's College,
Faculty of Education,
Strand W.C.2, London, England.

Kobayashi, Tetsuya, UNESCO
Director, UNESCO Institute for Education,
Oberstrasse 113,
Hamburg, West Germany.

Komada, Kinichi, JAPAN
Emeritus Professor,
University of Osaka,
Mejirodai 3-8-14, Bunkyoku,
Tokyo, Japan.

Kong, Shiu Loon, CANADA
Associate Professor,
University of Toronto,
Toronto 181, Ontario.

Kravetz, Nathan, FRANCE
Senior Officer, UNESCO,
7 rue Eugene Delacroix,
Paris 16e, France.

Larrivée, Denyse, CAN.
Assistant Professor,
University of Montreal,
Montreal, Quebec.

Lauzon, Yves, CAN.
Professor, Faculty of Education,
University of Ottawa,
1245 Kilborn Avenue,
Ottawa 8, Ontario.

Lean, Arthur, U.S.A.
Professor of Comparative Education,
Southern Illinois University,
Carbondale, Ill., 62901, U.S.A.

Lee, Cyrus, U.S.A.
Professor of Psychology
Edinboro State College, Penn., U.S.A.

Legault, Alton, CAN.
Professor, C.E.G.E.P. de Salaberry,
College de Valleyfield,
Valleyfield, Quebec.

Leone, Andrew, U.S.A.
Professor,
Comparative and International Education,
Western Illinois University,
Illinois 61455, U.S.A.

Lipkin, John P., CAN.
Associate Professor of Education,
McGill University,
Montreal, Quebec

Maccia, Elizabeth Stiner, U.S.A.
Professor of Philosophy of Education,
Indiana University,
R. 12, Box 160,
Bloomington, Indiana 47401, U.S.A.

Maccia, George S., U.S.A.
Professor of Philosophy of Education,
Indiana University,
R. 12, Box 160,
Bloomington, Indiana 47401, U.S.A.

MacMillan, Ronald G., SOUTH AFRICA
Professor, Head of Department and Dean,
Faculty of Education,
University of Natal,
P.O. Box 375,
Pietermaritzburg, Natal, South Africa.

MacNeil, Claude, CAN.
Acting Assistant Director,
Comparative Education Center,
Faculty of Education,
University of Ottawa,
1245 Kilborn Avenue,
Ottawa 8, Ontario.

Magnuson, Roger, CAN.
Associate Professor,
McGill University,
Montreal, Quebec.

Malkova, Zoya, U.S.S.R.
Head, Comparative Education Department,
Academy of Pedagogical Sciences,
Bolshaya Polyanka, 58, Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Maraj, James Ajodhya, ENGLAND
Deputy Director of the Educational Division of the Commonwealth Secretariat,
Marlborough House,
Pall Mall, London S.W.1, England.

Massey, Norman Bland, CAN.
Assistant Superintendent of Curriculum,
Ontario Department of Education,
44 Eglinton Avenue West,
Toronto 12, Ontario.

Massialas, Byron G., U.S.A.
Associate Professor of Education,
The University of Michigan,
School of Education,
Corner East and South University Avenues,
Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104, U.S.A.

McDowell, David W., U.S.A.
Assistant Professor of Education,
State University College,
New Paltz, New York 12561, U.S.A.

McLaren, Robert, CAN.
Director of Education Division, C.I.D.A.
75 Albert Street,
Ottawa 4, Ontario.

Mellon, Marie T. (Mrs.), CAN.
Assistant Director, School of Nursing,
University of Ottawa,
30 Stewart Street,
Ottawa 2, Ontario.

Michaud, Lucien F., CAN.
Directeur des recherches,
Association des universités et collèges
du Canada,
151 Slater,
Ottawa 4, Ontario.

Michie, Allan A., U.S.A.
Director of Publications,
Education and World Affairs,
522 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N.Y. 10036, U.S.A.

Miller, R.M., CAN.
Educational Research, C.I.D.A.,
75 Albert Street,
Ottawa, Ontario

Monaghan, W.A., CAN.
A/Director Training Division,
C.I.D.A.,
75 Albert Street,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Mosher, Russell D., CAN.
Deputy Secretary General,
Canadian Teachers' Federation,
320 Queen Street,
Ottawa 4, Ontario.

Mouaga, Godefroy Eugène, AFRIQUE
Attaché, Ambassade du Cameroun,
85 Range Road,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Murray, Reginald, WEST INDIES
Director, Institute of Education,
Dean, Faculty of Education,
University of the West Indies,
Mona, Kingston 7, Jamaica, W.I.

Muinuddin, Moin, CAN.
Research Officer,
Metropolitan Toronto School Board,
Toronto, Ontario.

Mwingira, Augustine C., AFRICA
University Administration,
University of Daressalaam,
Tanzania, Africa.

Noah, Harold J., U.S.A.
Professor, Division of Philosophy,
The Social Sciences and Education,
Teachers' College,
Columbia University,
New York, N.Y. 10027, U.S.A.

Ohlsson, Lennard A., SWEDEN
Research Economist,
Industrial Institute for Economic
and Social Research,
408-409 Encina Hall, Stanford,
Stanford, Calif., 94305, U.S.A.

Okatsu, Morihiko, JAPAN
Dean, Faculty of Education,
University of Tokyo,
Tokyo, Japan.

Olakanpo, Obasanmi, NIGERIA
Professor of Economics and
Dean of Social Studies,
University of Lagos,
Lagos, Nigeria.

Parker, Franklin, U.S.A.
Benedum Professor of Education,
West Virginia University,
Morgantown, W.Va., 26505, U.S.A.

Patrick, T.L., U.S.A.
Center for Teacher Education,
Tulane University,
New Orleans 70118, U.S.A.

Prieto Morales, Abel, CUBA
Asesor del Ministro,
Ministerio de Educacion,
Marianao, Cuba.

Ramunas, A. Paplauskas, CAN.
Director, Comparative Education Center,
Faculty of Education,
University of Ottawa,
1245 Kilborn Avenue,
Ottawa 8, Ontario.

Rancourt, Richard, CAN.
Chargé de cours, Faculté d'Education,
Université d'Ottawa,
1245 avenue Kilborn,
Ottawa 8, Ontario.

Read, Gerald Howard, U.S.A.
Director Comparative Education,
Kent State University,
Kent, Ohio 44240, U.S.A.

Robinsohn, Saul B., GERMANY
Director, Max-Planck Institute,
Vice-President Comparative Education
Society of Europe,
1 Berlin 31, Germany.

Röhrs, Herman, GERMANY
Director, Education Seminar,
Dean, Faculty of Education,
Heidelberg University,
69 Heidelberg 1, Germany.

Rosen, Seymour, M., U.S.A.
Comparative Education Specialist,
Office of Education, Dept. of H.E.W.,
Kensington, Maryland 20795, U.S.A.

Roy, Sheila, F.B., CAN.
Programme Consultant,
Ontario Department of Education,
44 Eglinton Avenue West,
Toronto 12, Ontario.

Russell, Ronald Albert, CAN.
Part-Time Lecturer, Faculty of Education,
University of Ottawa,
1245 Kilborn Avenue,
Ottawa 8, Ontario.

Ruda, O. Jorge, CAN.
Associate Professor of Psychology,
1245 Kilborn Avenue,
Ottawa 8, Ontario.

Schwebel, Milton, U.S.A.
Rutgers University,
Dean and Professor,
Rockville Centre, N.Y. 11570, U.S.A.

Seckinger, Richard K., U.S.A.
Associate Professor of Education,
University of Pittsburgh,
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213, U.S.A.

Shafer, Susanne M., U.S.A.
Associate Professor of Comparative and
International Education,
College of Education,
Arizona State University,
Tempe, Arizona 85281, U.S.A.

Sheffield, Edward F., CAN.
Professor of Higher Education,
University of Toronto,
Toronto 181, Ontario.

Skinner, Andrew F., CAN.
Professor of Education,
College of Education,
University of Toronto,
Toronto 7, Ontario.

Stabler, Ernest, CAN.
Dean, Althouse College,
University of Western Ontario,
London, Ontario.

Stephano, Mary, U.S.A.
Consultant for International Education,
Council on International Studies,
107 Townsend Hall,
Buffalo, N.Y. 14214, U.S.A.

Stewart, Freeman K., CAN.
Canadian Education Association,
Executive Secretary,
151 Bloor Street West,
Toronto 181, Ontario.

Stratton, Dorothy, CAN.
Program Consultant,
Ontario Department of Education,
44 Eglinton Street West,
Toronto 12, Ontario.

Sutherland, Margaret B.N., IRELAND
Senior Lecturer in Education,
Education Department, Queen's University,
Belfast BT7, 1NN,
Northern Ireland.

Syeda, A.R., U.S.A.
Lecturer in Education,
Gannon College,
Erie, Penn. 16509, U.S.A.

Taguchi, Takao, JAPAN
Professor,
Kitano 1-5-4 Fukuokamachi-Saitama-Ken,
Japan.

Teager, William A., CAN.
National Director, Overseas Book Centre,
75 Sparks Street,
Ottawa 4, Ontario.

To, Cho-Yee, U.S.A.
Assistant Professor of Education,
The University of Michigan,
School of Education,
Corner East & South of University Ave.,
Ann Harbor, Mich. 48104, U.S.A.

Vaughan, Herbert, U.S.A.
Social Studies Curriculum Advisor,
Agency for International Development,
San Salvador, El Salvador, C.A.

Vernon-Jackson, Hugh, CAN.
Deputy Director of Education Division,
C.I.D.A.,
75 Albert Street,
Ottawa 4, Ontario.

Vexliard, A., TURQUIE
Professeur et Chef du départment de
Psychologie et Pédagogie,
Faculté des Lettres,
Université d'Ankara, Turquie.

Weaver, Charles T., U.S.A.
Director of International Education,
State University College,
Potsdam, N.Y. 13076, U.S.A.

Wenger, Roy E., U.S.A.
Professor of Education,
Director, Center for International
and Comparative Programs,
Kent State University,
Kent, Ohio 44240, U.S.A.

Whitworth, Fred E., CAN.
Director,
Canadian Council for Research in Education,
265 Elgin Street,
Ottawa 4, Ontario.

Wilson, David N., CAN.
Assistant Professor,
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education,
Toronto, Ontario.

Wolf, Richard, U.S.A.
Associate Professor of Psychology and
Education,
Teachers' College,
Columbia University, N.Y. 10027, U.S.A.

Wood, James Douglas, CAN.
Lecturer in Administration and Planning,
College of Education,
University of Toronto,
Toronto 181, Ontario.

Yoo, Hyung-Jin, KOREA
Professor of Education,
President, Korea Comparative Education Society,
Kon-kuk University,
Seoul, Korea.

Zachariah, George K., INDIA
Associate Professor,
Canisius College,
Buffalo, N.Y. 14215, U.S.A.

Zachariah, Mathew, CAN.
Associate Professor,
The University of Calgary,
Calgary, Alberta.

Zapata, Vicente, SOUTH AMERICA
Chairman, School of Education,
University del Valle,
Cali-Colombia, S.A.

Zubov, Victor, U.S.S.R.
Vice-President,
Academy of Pedagogical Sciences,
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Students in Attendance - Etudiants présents

Akalin, Kemalettin, 1618 L. Michigan, East Lansing, Michigan 48823, U.S.A.
Al-Rubaiy, Abdul & Kathleen, 1340 Allerton St., Kent, Ohio 44240, U.S.A.
Andrews, Bruce A., 5692 Kings Rd., Vancouver 8, B.C.
Aydin, Mustafa, 1130 Beech St., Apt. 112, East Lansing, Michigan 48823, U.S.A.
Bansfield, Irving H., 7 Elmsley Crescent, Ottawa 6, Ontario.
Boudreau, Eveline, 267 rue Stewart, Ottawa 2, Ontario.
Buckland, Arthur F., 3200 Cadeb Street, Cornwall, Ontario.
Bulbul, Ahmet Sudi, 1627-H Spartan Village, East Lansing, Michigan 48823, U.S.A.
Byun, Kyu-Yong (Paul), 1 avenue Lacordaire, 31 Toulouse, France.
Chibuluzo, Francis N., Tabaret Hall, University of Ottawa, 245 Nicholas St., Ottawa 2, Ontario.
Cila, Husnu, 1130 Beech St., Apt. 112, East Lansing, Michigan 48823, U.S.A.
Croteau, Georges, 175 Main Street, Ottawa, Ontario.
Downes, Walter E., 172 Benson Ave., Peterborough, Ontario.
Feuer, Ronald J., 505 South Highland, Bloomington, Indiana 47401, U.S.A.
Fiorino, Albert F., 175 Glenora, Ottawa 1, Ontario.
Franklyn, Gaston J., 25 Woodridge Cresc., Apt. 215, Ottawa, Ontario.
Frazier, Doris E., West 419 Owen Graduate Hall, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan 48823, U.S.A.
Gagné, Rodrigue, 215 Clarence, Apt. 501, Ottawa, Ontario.
Gibbons, Michael A., 40 Riverdale, Ottawa, Ontario.
Gift, Edrick, 2176 Blossom Dr., Ottawa 8, Ontario.
Gingras, Philippe P., 8227 rue Viau, Québec, Québec.
Godler, Zlata, 4412 Marcil Avenue, Montreal 260, Quebec.
Greco, Ann Marie, 304 Oak Street, Old Forge, Pennsylvania 18518, U.S.A.
Grosser, Renie, 1356 Meadowlands Drive East, Apt. 1108, Ottawa, Ontario.
Güclüol, Kemal, 1566-C Spartan Village, East Lansing, Michigan 48823, U.S.A.
Handa, Inder J., 150 MacLaren, Apt. 811, Ottawa, Ontario.
Kaliakos, Alexander, Par Thermapylon, Grevence, Greece.
Kallus, Barbara I., 3218 W. 1st Avenue, Vancouver 8, B.C.
Kazanci, Osman, 1130 Beech Street, Apt. 112, East Lansing, Michigan 48823, U.S.A.
Kupe, Elliott, 39 Donna, Ottawa, Ontario.
Lapensée, Céline M.R., 290 rue Nelson, Apt. 306, Ottawa, Ontario.
Maher, Elizabeth, 284 Wilbrod, Apt. 4, Ottawa 2, Ontario.
Marcotte, Georges-Henri, 175 Main Street, Ottawa 1, Ontario.
McCombs, A. Rae, 3966 West 38th, Vancouver 13, B.C.
McKenna, Patrick E., 16 Abbé des Autels, Pointe Gatineau, Quebec.
Pallante, James J., 206 N. Monroe, Wenonah, N.J. 08090, U.S.A.
Rehder, Norman William, 147 Fourth Avenue, Ottawa, Ontario.
Shin, Kuk Bom, 1428 I Spartan Village, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan 48823, U.S.A.
Smith, Colin, 1109 J. University Village, East Lansing, Michigan 48823, U.S.A.
Smith, Gloria Mary, 1109 J University Village, East Lansing, Michigan 48823, U.S.A.
Solomon, Sushila, 111 Wurtemburg Street, Ottawa, Ontario.
Sonntag, M. Vincent, G.M.B. 613, Aylmer, Quebec.
Sun, Diana, 54 Range Road, Ottawa, Ontario.
Vachon, Raymonde, 308 Nelson, Ottawa, Ontario.
Virdy, Surgit, 678 King Edward Avenue, Ottawa, Ontario.
Wanner, Raymond, Fairfax Apartments, No. 322, 43rd & Locust Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104, USA.
Wernecke, Hanns B., 33 Perrault Avenue, Apt. 15, Ste. Anne de Bellevue 800, Quebec.
Zimmerman, Gary E., Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa, 1245 Kilborn Avenue, Ottawa 8, Ontario.

FINAL STATEMENT OF RESOLUTION
AT THE WORLD CONGRESS OF
COMPARATIVE EDUCATIONAL SOCIETIES

1. The International Committee responsible for the First World Congress be asked to continue until the next World Congress with power to co-opt additional members as a World Council for Comparative Education;

2. The World Council co-opt individual members with a view to having representation from all geographical regions;

3. The Secretariat for the World Council for Comparative Education be established at the University of Ottawa;

4. The World Council be charged with issuing a newsletter and with responsibility for convening a second World Congress in 1973;

5. The World Council, having regard to the recommendations of the first World Congress, and in consultation with the participating societies prepare a constitution for approval by the second World Congress;

6. The World Council seek consultative status with UNESCO;

7. The World Council seek funds designed to help achieve the objectives of the Council and the Congress.

INTERNATIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE

L. Desjarlais - Canada
M. Hiratsuka - Japan
Sun-Ho Kim - Korea
R. Lawson - Canada
G. Read - U.S.A.
F. Whitworth - Canada

S. Fraser - U.S.A.
Ph. J. Idenburg - Europe
J.A. Lauwerys - U.K.
A. Paplauskas Ramunas - Canada
A.F. Skinner - Canada
J. Katz - Canada
Chairman.

Additional copies of these
Proceedings may be obtained
by writing to

Dr. Arthur Godbout

or

Dr. Claude MacNeil

at the

Secretariat,
WORLD COUNCIL FOR COMPARATIVE EDUCATION,
1245 Kilborn Street,
Ottawa 8, Ontario.
Canada